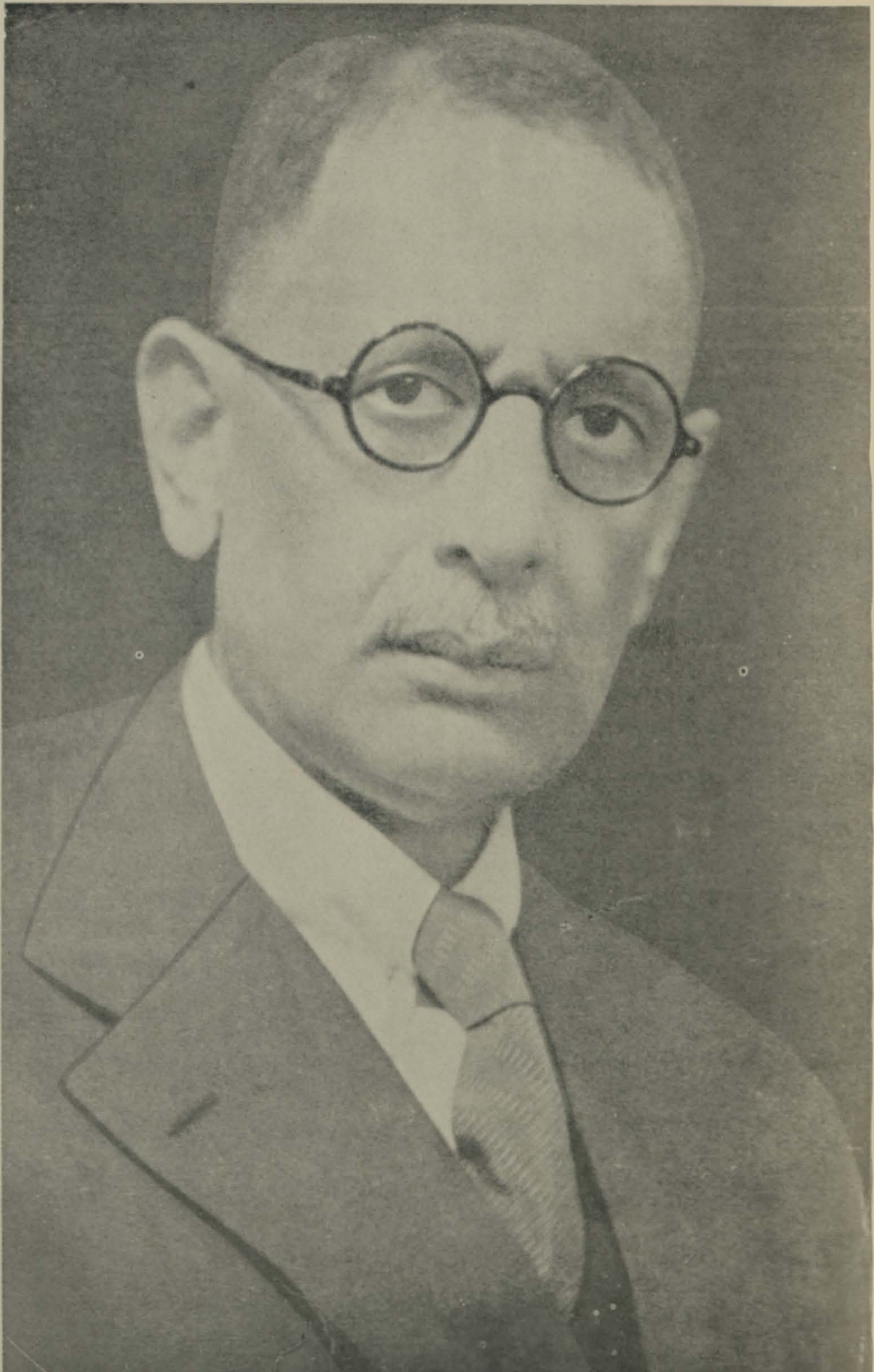
Letters
of
Mian Fazl-i-Husain

Edited by

Dr. WAHEED AHMAD

Research Society of Pakistan



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RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN
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[Sir Fazl-i-Husain died on 9 July, 1936]

PREFACE

Mian Sir Fazli Husain was a major political figure during the twenties and thirties of this country, first in the Punjab and then in all India. Yet, after the rise of the Pakistan movement and particularly after the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan he has been largely forgotten or overlooked. He could be called the forgotten man of the Muslim political revival in the early thirties. His son Azim Husain has written his biography (*Fazl-i-Hussain*, London, 1946), but, owing perhaps to the troubled time of its publication, it did not receive the attention it deserved. It was a time of crisis, with Pakistan within a year of achievement. It is therefore fitting and timely that the memory of his work and achievements should be rescued from historical oblivion by an edition of his letters and papers. This task has now been faithfully and ably undertaken by a fellow Punjabi, Dr. Waheed Ahmad.

It must have seemed to many, as the independence movement achieved success in 1947, that the actions of pre-Pakistan statesmen were irrelevant. Yet, if there had not been a series of such men with vision and determination, Pakistan would have remained a dream, a tale of unfulfilled renown. The series goes back as far, perhaps, as Shah Waliullah of Delhi in the 18th century. It certainly includes Sayyid Ahmad Khan in the 19th century, and the claims of Fazli in the 20th are strong.

In what way can this claim be justified? Fazli died in 1936 before Pakistan was a serious issue. It is fairly clear that he would have opposed the project, at least in its earlier stages. Yet his work was essential to the movement's fruition; the dynamo of Pakistani success lay in the Punjab, and it was Fazli who gave that dynamo its new found strength.

The answer to this question is to be found in his career from

1921 onwards. The Montford reforms set up responsible ministries in the Indian provinces; the Punjab shared in this provision, but with the disability of lacking an overall majority of seats in the legislature for the majority Muslim community. Eventually this provision led (in 1947) to civil war, but Fazli found a way of both excercising power and promoting Muslim revival within the constitution. Taking office as Minister of Education he formed a firm political base by his alliance with the rural Hindu Jats, an alliance which was to outlast his own life by ten years. Both communities had an interest in promoting the cause of the cultivator against the monied classes of the towns. Both communities were relatively backward so that both could go forward together. On this basis Fazli extended education to the rural countryside and saw that the Muslims had a proper share of service and public appointments. The integrity with which he conducted the partnership was shown by its long duration; the result was an awakened, self-conscious and greatly strengthened Muslim community in the Punjab, and also a greatly strengthened Jat one. The Fazli-Chothu Ram axis benefited both parties; it was essentially a revival of the countryside and an assertion of its independence from the towns. In this prospect Jat and Muslim cultivator agreed; Fazli's party was rightly nicknamed the zamindars' party. Its work made Fazli in some degree a nourisher of both Pakistan Punjab and Indian Haryana, for from this alliance both acquired the strength to fulfil their later destiny.

At the time the Fazli experiment was widely regarded as a model example of communal harmony. Why then did it break down eventually? Why, in other words, did it prove to be only a temporary arrangement ? One reason, I think, was that the two parties were largely physically separated — the Jats in the east and the Muslims in the west of the province. Emotional friction was therefore largely avoided so long as times were quiet. The other was that the province, as part of a much larger whole, was susceptible to over-riding issues from outside which could stir mass emotion within. Such an issue was the Pakistan movement as it gathered force from 1937 onwards. It is significant that the Punjab was the last key Muslim area to come

into line; this was because it was the least affected by the fear of Hindu domination. The flame kindled first in minority areas and spread to majority ones later for this reason.

But the nourishing of the Muslim Punjab was only one part of Fazli's work. He entered the all-India stage when he joined the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1930. There he played the part of a determined liberal reformer. But, unseen by the public eye, he also assumed another role of far-reaching consequence. It was the virtual direction from New Delhi of the Muslim delegations to the Round Table Conference from 1930 to 1933. His attitudes and his moves can be traced in these papers. His work was not only to prevent a communal settlement on terms he considered unsuitable and to stiffen Muslim resistance to the Indian National Congress; it was essentially and more importantly to draw the Muslim delegations together and create a sense of solidarity and common purpose. In this work he was laying a foundation upon which Muhammad Ali Jinnah was later to build.

Fazli Husain was spare of frame, soft in speech and unobtrusive in manner. He suffered much ill-health and was often racked with pain from the ills which ended his career untimely in 1936. But the unassuming exterior concealed an iron will and a crystal-clear intellect. It concealed ambition too, but it was the zeal to raise his country and his people, not the monomania of a would-be dictator. Above all it concealed a shining integrity of which his country, like all others, then as now, had need.

26 August, 1974.   Percival Spear

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of modern British India no other political figure has been more misunderstood and more controversial than the late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain. He has been described as one who sowed 'seeds of communal disharmony'[1] and is accused of having worked against the Indian nationalist movement in an 'unfussy and subterranean manner' in order to assure 'for himself a long succession of offices'[2]. Only on the eve of his death, it is suggested, he turned a nationalist.[3] It is also stated that he was 'a nationalist and a democrat' and 'the all-India interests were always paramount with him'.[4] After his death, says his one-time colleague in the Viceroy's Council, Muslim leadership passed into unworthy hands with the result that the country had to be divided.[5] On the other hand, he is regarded as 'a martyr in the service of his people' and a leader who prepared the groundwork for the establishment of Pakistan.[6] 'Without Mian Fazl-i-Husain,' it is affirmed, 'Pakistan would not have come into being'.[7] But he is also denounced as one who divided the Punjab Muslims into rural and urban groups which harmed Muslim interests.[8] He is accused on the one hand of having operated in regard to political issues over and above the head of the massesand suppressed

1. Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru & After*, (London, 1969), p. 112. The author was personally known to Fazl-i-Husain.
2. Diwan Chand Sharma, 'The Truth about Mian Fazl-i-Husain', *Modern Review*, June 1937, cited in Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography*, (Bombay, 1946), p. 373.
3. Durga Das, op. cit, p. 173.
4. Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh to Azim Husain, 23 March 1946, Fazl-i-Husain Papers [FP].
5. A view expressed to me by Sir George Schuster (Finance Member, Viceroy's Council, 1921-34) in an interview at the Savoy, London, on 21 April 1969.
6. A view expressed to me by Chaudhri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan in an interview in London on 22 May 1970.
7. *Ibid.*
8. See Punjab News Letter in *Dawn*, (Delhi), 8 June, 1946.

mass awakening[1] and on the other of failing to lead the Muslim community over the Shahidganj dispute.[2] The nature of his political relationship with some of his eminent Muslim contemporaries such as Sikander Hyat Khan, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah is also controversial.[3] On one point, however, there is unanimity. During the major part of his political career he dominated the Punjab politics completely and the Indian politics to a large extent.

Most of the factual details of Mian Fazl-i-Husain's life are given in his biography written by his son.[4] His political views and policies are recorded in the documents printed in the following pages. His innumerable speeches and statements made in the Punjab and the central legislatures and in public exist in the legislative proceedings officially published and in the newspapers such as *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), *Times of India*, (Bombay), *Star of India*, (Calcutta), and other Indian newspapers available in the India Office Library and the British Museum Newspapers Library at Colindale.[5] They fully explain what he thought and desired regarding issues which aroused peoples' concern at that time. The documents which follow relate principally to the period of 1930-5, although some papers of prior date pertaining to such crucial issues as the Nehru Report and the Simon Commission are included in the present volume. But questions like the strategy in the pursuit of his objectives, the range of his political following and the degree of influence which he exercised on the public are not dilated upon in these documents. One can, however, get an inkling of these matters in his diaries. He publicly criticised Indian exclusion from the Simon Commission[6] and offered to resign his Membership of Punjab Govern-

1. See Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal ke Akhri do Sal*, (Urdu), [The last two years of Iqbal], (Karachi, 1961), p. 281.
2. See Anonymous Urdu letter to Fazl-i-Husain, 15 February 1936, letter 430.
3. See Ashiq Husain Batalvi, op. cit., pp. 235-328, and Yusuf Abbasi, 'A Tussle for the Punjab Leadership, 1935-6, *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, (Lahore, June 1960).
4. Azim Husain, op. cit.
5. His speeches and statements will be published in a separate volume later.
6. See *Indian National Herald*, (Bombay). and *Civil & Military Gazette*, both of 19 November 1927.

ment[1] when asked by Hailey to retract his public pronouncement.[2] But Hailey yielded[3] and he also agreed to end the matter there.[4] We owe this rare information to Hailey who preserved it in his private papers. But one is still left guessing as to why Fazli dropped the matter so easily over an issue which had enraged Indian opinion so much and why the shrewd and firm Hailey submitted to Fazli so hastily over a matter so vital to Government. Much of the inside infomation about Fazl-i-Husain's career necessary for constructing a history of modern India will probably never become available. Most of the papers of his intimate associates are, it seems, either lost or remain untraceable or are held in private custody beyond the reach of the ordinary researcher. Nevertheless, one can get a sufficient clue by delving in the contemporary newspapers' files, official, non-official and other published works, in the confidential writings of those whose collections of private papers exist and are available for scrutiny and in his own writings included in this volume.

Although Fazl-i-Husain's political career can be looked at from three different angles, as a Punjabi, as an Indian nationalist and as a Muslim leader, yet ground will be covered by examining his work under the last two categories only.

In a note in his diary dated 12 November 1901, he described his ambition 'to be the Recognized Leader of the Indian Musalmans and sit in the House of Commons as The Right Honourable Gentleman from the Punjab'. This was recorded in the Victorian era, during Curzon's viceroyalty and the formative phase of Fazl-i-Husain's life. His desire to assume the leadership of the Indian Muslims may have been the immediate result of the incident noted in the diary only three days earlier in which, he felt, he encountered Hindu communal opposition over his election to the sub-committee of the Sialkot graduates union. But it was a minor matter which does not seem to have produced any durable effect on his mind. Four years later, he joined the provincial branch of the Indian National Congress and, though he re-

1. Fazl-i-Husain to Hailey, 6 December 1927, letter 31.
2. Hailey to Fazl-i-Husain, 24 November 1927, letter 30.
3. Hailey to Fazl-i-Husain, 7 December 1927, letter 32.
4. Fazl-i-Husain to Hailey, 8 December 1927, letter 33.

signed from the Congress party in 1920, he always shared the Congress ideal of pre-1920 period. His attitude towards the Congress is best described in his own public speech made in the midst of the intense Congress-Government tussle just four years before his death :

> People forget that once a Congress man, always a Congress man. Those who remain within the fold of the Congress may forget their principles, but those who have left the Congress cannot afford to do that...A man's policy consists in methods, principles and their execution. As regards my methods it was not different from the method of all those who in 1919-20 felt themselves unable to subscribe to the Congress creed of non-co-operation. I was one of the many who had the courage to say, no...I assure you that I evolved no new principles. Mine were the principles which I, along with a large number of Congress men, decided upon and set out to adopt.
>
> Is there a Congress man who does not hold the view that the development, success and greatness of a country depend upon the progress of all parts of the country? Is there a Congress man who does not hold the view that as long as large tracts in Indian disfigure the name of India by being called backward no Indian can stand up and raise his head high? Is there a Congress man who holds the view that by placing facilities in the way of large cities and concentrating on political action in those cities you are not really giving the country liberty but are making the mistake of creating one class to rule over another, a larger, poorer and, therefore, a better class? There I again hold that I was not the author of these claims. I simply took them from my friends. I further claim that had any other Congress man adopted the method I adopted and tried to carry out the Congress programme he could not have done otherwise than I did.
>
> As regards the question of execution ..in the first decade of the 20th century we, working in the Congress,

> were of the view that political work in the country should proceed by consultation, discussion and by educating and persuading our fellow-workers. I assure you it is a tedious and troublesome work. It takes you days and days to get through work which, if you were a dictator, you could do in five minutes. If the Congress of today believes in Dictators, I never did and I do not.[1]

Information about the aims and objects of the National Unionist Party exists in detail, but not enough information is available about the circumstances leading to its establishment and its activities in the early days. Documents concerning the Party do not exist either in Fazl-i-Husain's own papers or in other private collections. The origin and growth of the Party are not reported even in a newspaper like *Civil & Military Gazette* of that time. *Muslim Outlook* (whose files, as far I know, are not availabe anywhere), *Tribune* (whose original and also microfilm series exist in Chandigarh in India[2]) and other contemporary local newspapers must contain details about the formation of the Party and its activities. But I did not have access to them.

Controversy surrounds Fazl-i-Husain's intention in founding the Unionist Party. Did he mean to use the Party as a means to ameliorate the lot of the overwhelming rural population of the Punjab who could not compete with the educated and self-conscious elite living in cities? Or, did he establish the Party deliberately on a non-communal basis in order to maintain himself as a Punjabi leader and level up the inferior Muslim position? The Punjab Muslims could not rule the province independent of the support of the Hindus and Sikhs since, in this province, the Muslim population only marginally ex-

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1. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 22 June 1932. Speech at a reception of the National Unionist Party in Lahore arranged for him and Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan who was appointed to officiate as Education Member of the Viceroy's Council during his absence on leave.
2. I was told by an Indian historian in London that at the time of Partition, a Muslim Deputy Superintendent of Police at Lahore allowed and helped the transfer of the entire records of *Tribune* on donkeys and bullock carts from its head office in Lahore across the frontier into India.

ceeded the Hindu and Sikh population. Fazl-i-Husain's work has been generally examined in the light of these propositions.

Fazl-i-Husain had his critics both for being a communal and also a non-communal leader. The charge of communal bigotry was the recurring editorial theme in the *Tribune*,[1] a Lahore Hindu daily. The *Tribune*'s view is confirmed by no less a person than Hailey. Commenting as late as 1961 on Azim Husain's biography of his father, Hailey wrote:

> It is a little unfortunate that one of the records of the political history of the Punjab in the inter-war period is to be found in the biography of Sir Fazli Hosain by his son, Azim Husain. He represents his father as the creator and leader of the Unionist party, the objects of which were continuously thwarted by the official government of which I was the head. One must forgive the desire shown by the son to pay a tribute to the memory of his father, but his record of Fazli Hosain's career in politics is very far from objective...he would admit that his father was first and last dedicated to securing the advancement, political and economic, of Muslims as against the Hindus and Sikhs, and that the machinery he utilized for this purpose was the leadership accorded to him by the "agricultural" members of the legislature consisting mainly of Muslims and such Hindus and Sikhs as were prepared as "agriculturists" to support him against the "non-agricultural" Hindu and Sikh sections of the population.
>
> Sir Fazli himself had I think no real affinity with the "agriculturist" as defind by the Punjab legislation; but he utilized the support of the "Unionist" party in so far as this could aid him in securing the advance of the Muslim cause[2].

1. *Tribune*, 25 and 26 August 1925 and 3 April 1930, on his appointment as a temporary Member of the Viceroy's Council. These editorials were made availab.e to me through the courtesy of Dr. S. R. Mehrotra, Fellow, Historical Research Institute, Simla.
2. Hailey to D. A. Low (then Fellow, Department of History, Australian National University, Canberra), 10 January 1961, India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/51.

The events in the last few months of his life when preparations were afoot to launch the provincial part of the 1935 Act led to some differences of approach between him and Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, mention of which occurs even in the latter's remarks on Fazl-i-Husain's death.[1] After Fazli died events in India marched very swiftly so that in just ten years the mighty British Indian empire was liquidated and India was partitioned on communal lines. In the closing phase, the leaders of the Unionist Party which Fazl-i-Husain had founded and led, stood against Jinnah and the aspirations of the Muslims of the sub-continent symbolised in the concept of Pakistan. Jinnah was, or was at least regarded in the Hindu camp as, a man who believed in and worked for a political conciliation between Hindus and Muslims to a greater degree than did Fazl-i-Husain. One can only guess what Fazli would have done if he had lived to witness the operation of the provincial autonomy by Congress ministries and the later events. He had foresight, championed a cause and lacked no courage. After all, he had resigned from the Congress in 1920 even before his status as a leader in his own right was established. Fazl-i-Husain could hardly be held responsible for the programme, policy and methods of his party successors.

It has to be conceded that the political situation in the Punjab was very special and needed special treatment. Until the programme of partitioning the province on communal lines was accepted, it is inconceivable that a communal government in the Punjab could be instituted and enabled to enjoy stability.

Fortunately, the Fazl-i-Husain collection of this period is quite rich though a number of important documents are missing from it. However, the subject needs enlargement and a fuller explanation which can be possible only by an exhaustive study of the contemporary newspapers' files, official records, the Quaid's and the Muslim League's papers now available and the papers of Fazl-i-Husain's colleagues lying here and there in private hands in Pakistan and elsewhere.

Fazl-i-Husain's contribution to the Indian politics in general and Muslim politics in particular during the last six years of his life was

1. *Times of India*, 11 July 1936.

very substantial. This related to the reform work preceding the enactment of the 1935 Act. Opinions differ whether he was right in the course he adopted on the communal side. Muslims trusted his judgment, but Hindus, especially of the Punjab, regarded him as a source of evil. Even non-Punjabi Hindus such as K.N. Haksar,[1] B.L. Mitter[2] and even Tej Bahadur Sapru[3] shared this view.[4] If we consider his efforts during 1933 to help solve, despite opposition from several prominent Muslims,[5] the most contentious issue of separate electorates by evolving a formula to introduce joint electorate in the Punjab,[6] this criticism would hardly be justified. He failed with the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs as Jinnah had failed with Congress men during 1927-8 and later with Pandit M.M. Malaviya[7] in 1934 over the

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1. B. 1878; Private Secretary to Maharaja Scindia, 1903-12; Under-Secretary, Political Department, Government ot India, 1905-7; Member, Board of Revenue, 1909-14; Indian States delegate to the first two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; Prime Minister, Bikaner State; 1946——?

2. B. 1875; practised in the Calcutta High Court; Standing Counsel to Government of India, 1922; Law Member, Viceroy's Council, 1928-34; Member, Bengal Executive Council, 1937-45; Dewan of Baroda, 1945-7; acting Governor of West Bengal, 1947; d. 1950.

3. B. 1875; advocate of Allahabad High Court; Law Member, Viceroy's Council, 1920-3; President, National Liberal Federation of India, 1923 and 1927; delegate to the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference (1930-2) and to the three sessions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933; President, *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu-e-Hind*; d. 1949.

4. See Sapru to B. L. Mitter, 30 May and 5 June 1931, B. L. Mitter to Sapru, 2 June 1931, Sapru to K. N. Haksar, 1 June 1931 and K. N. Haksar to Sapru, 1 June 1931, Sapru Papers.

5. See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 6 May 1933 for the resolution adopted at a joint meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Conference and the Punjab Muslim League at the house of Allama Iqbal on 5 May 1933.

6. *Ibid*,, 29 April and 1 May 1933 for the details of the arrangement.

7. B. 1861; President, Indian National Congress, 1909 and 1918; Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, 1919-40; delegate to the second session of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1931; d. 1946.

same issue.[1]

His influence with the Indian Governments of Irwin and Willingdon at least as regards the communal question was considerable. It was total with the Muslim representatives who were associated with the intricate discussions at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform.

The Simon Commission was rejected totally by the Indians. However, it had received some semblance of co-operation from the Punjab Muslims in the background of the acute Hindu-Muslim tension over the *Rangila Rasul* dispute.[2] But because of the stand taken by the Labour members of the Commission,[3] the Commission's Report denied to the Muslims of the Punjab, and also of Bengal, a statutory majority[4] which they had claimed on the population basis. Here Fazl-i-Husain intervened as can be seen in the following which Irwin wrote to the Secretary of State :

> Fazl-i-Husain sent me a few days ago a note on Muslim feeling, which I think is of sufficient interest to pass on to you. It speaks for itself, but on several of their points I have considerable sympathy with them. Anyhow, you may take this as a fairly good statement of what I believe to be

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1. See Jinnah's statement in *Times of India*, 7 April 1934 which contains details of the Jinnah-Malaviya negotiations and their breakdown.
2. This point has been discussed in detail in the Communal chapter of my Ph. D. thesis entitled 'The Formation of the Government of India Act, 1935', (Cambridge, 1969), which is being published shortly.
3. See the following in George R. Lane-Fox (member of the Simon Commission who was a Conservative party nominee) to Irwin, 2 August 1930, India Office Library, Halifax Collection, MSS. Eur. 152/19: 'As to Moslem complaint, you must remember that our report was an agreed one. We had great difficulty in getting our Labour colleagues to recommend communal electorates at all. It was only by conceding the Punjab and Bengal point against the Moslems that we got them to agree to communal electorates and weightage to Moslems elsewhere.'
4. *Report of Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. II, Cmd. 3569, 1930, para 85.

> dominant Muslim opinion which will certainly find free expression at the Conference.[1]

Most probably it was the result of Fazl-i-Husain's efforts that Irwin's despatch of September 1930 to the British Government deviated from the Simon Report on this point and maintained at least the existing Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal legislatures.[2] Also, he influenced the Government to get included, in the delegation to the Round Table Conference, Muslims of his choice,[3] especially Zafrulla Khan and Shafa'at Ahmad Khan whose propaganda work in London in 1927 on behalf of the Indian Muslims had already impressed him.[4] As is testified by Zafrulla Khan[5] and Shafa'at Ahmad Khan,[6] by the documents included in this work and other circumstantial evidence, Fazl-i-Husain, sitting in India, had kept the Muslim delegation in London steady until the 1935 Act was enacted.[7] A British observer closely associated with the London proceedings had noted in the midst of the Conference :

> While Shafi and Sultan Ahmad apparently adopt a reasonable attitude towards a communal settlement, the real control rests with the younger section of the party (Zafrulla, Shafaat, etc.) who are understood to be in close touch with the Moslem member of the Viceroy's Council (Fazl-i-Husain) and with orthodox Moslem opinion in India, and who are not prepared to abate the full claim of their community in the

1. Irwin to Wedgwood Benn, 28 August 1930, India Office Library, Halifax Collection, MSS. Eur. C. 152/6.
2. *Government of India's Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reform*, Cmd. 3700, 20 September 1930, paras 30-1.
3. See Fazl-i-Husain to Hailey, 20 and 29 May 1930, (Letters 57 & 60), and Irwin to Hailey, 20 May, 1930, India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/18, and Azim Husain, op. cit., pp. 250-2.
4. See *Indian National Herald*, 19 November 1927 for the report of the press interview given by Fazl-i-Husain at Bombay after his return from Europe, (p. 40 ff., *Infra*).
5. In an interview with me in London on 22 May 1970.
6. See Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, *The Indian Federation*, (London, 1937), pp. 328 and 333.
7. *Supra*, footnote 2, p. xli.

least degree.[1]

It may be observed that the period of about ten years before Fazli's death was of peculiar difficulty for the Indian Muslims. Important events occurred during this period in this sequence : 1. build up of nationalist pressure in India, especially in the Legislative Assembly, for the grant of dominion status and antedating the constitutional inquiry stipulated in Section 84A of the 1919 Act; 2. the appointment of the Simon Commission in November 1927 and the mass movement in India to reject it; 3. Irwin's conciliatory gestures towards Indians, his dominion status statement of October 1929 and then his negotiations with Congress leaders led by Gandhi in two phases, first in December 1929 and again in February-March 1931 which produced the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. In between these two phases of Gandhi-Irwin negotiations came Gandhi's programme of civil disobedience and the inauguration of the Round Table Conference in London in November 1930 under the auspices of the Labour Government in Britain. The next year, Gandhi was persuaded to proceed to London where he participated in the second session of the Conference. So the period was full of immense political possibilities and expectations and Muslims were bound to be deeply concerned about their future. Agreement of any sort on any issues was not reached between Hindus and Muslims despite prolonged negotiations among leaders in India and at the London Conference. There were numerous communal riots, in one case in Cawnpore in 1931 on a very large scale, and intense communal controversy over the pamphlet *Rangila Rasul* in 1926, the Nehru Report of 1928, the Communal Award of 1932 and lastly the dispute over the Shahidganj mosque in 1935-6.

When issues of a momentous nature were on the anvil, need for unity among Muslims could hardly be exaggerated. A divided and

1. Note dated 6 November 1931 entitled 'Minorities Problem in Round Table Conference, 1st September—4 November 1931' by Gilbert Laithwaite (Personal Secretary to the Prime Minister at the Round Table Conference), India Office Library, Templewood Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 240/65. This note was written for the Prime Minister about the communal negotiations between Gandhi and the Muslim delegates at the Conference.

disunited community could not exert its influence and win its case. But the multiplicity of problems produced multiplicity of approaches by individuals and groups among Muslims. They became divided into political and religious factions. There were the Ahrars, the Ahmadis, the nationalists and communalists, besides personal jealousies and rivalries among leaders. This is not the place to discuss them as this aspect of Muslim politics deserves a separate and detailed treatment. But the documents in this volume contain some information about them. Contemporary newspapers are full of reports of statements and counter-statements and charges and counter-charges on a variety of subjects, major and minor, in which almost every mentionable Muslim leader was involved. The Muslim League was already in existence; in 1928 the Muslim Conference was established amidst widespread acclaim. Disunity among Muslim ranks was so great that as late as 1936 it was still a matter of acute controversy whether these two bodies should merge or live as separate entities.[1] The decade preceding 1936 was in total contrast with the decade following it when Muslim solidarity was absolute.

Jinnah's credit during this period as a Muslim leader was never high. The Aga Khan visited India only occasionally and for short periods. Many Muslim leaders were constantly on the move between India and Britain in connection with the reform work, and in fact none of them had attained an all-India status and political maturity enough to face the complex contemporary situation. It was a great achievement of Fazl-i-Husain that, living in indifferent health, he quietly and shrewdly steered the Muslim position through the most difficult period and won for them the Communal Award and later got it incorporated in the 1935 Act. It is opined that though 'there was no provision for Pakistan in the Act', 'there was a hint of it, as it were, in the full recognition and development of communal electorates and rights'.[2] Historians can hardly afford to ignore the work of this Statesman.

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1. See long editorials entitled 'Muslim Organisation' in *Star of India*, 6 and 8 April 1936.
2. See Percival Spear's Foreword to my book being published shortly, *Supra*, footnote 2, p. xli.

But it would not be fair to describe him as a bigoted Muslim leader whose only aim was to unduly strengthen his co-religionists against Hindu domination. He rejected Gandhi's methods and tactics, but shared Congress national ideals of self-rule, democracy and growth. He urged Government against whittling down of the reform proposals also contained in Samuel Hoare's[1] White Paper of 1933[2] and sent Zafrulla privately to Britain to soften the stand of the so-called British 'die-hards' against Indian aspirations.[3] He was probably the only Member in the Viceroy's Council in his time who protested against the Government repression of Congress and rule by ordinances.[4]

The communal situation in India had been worsening rapidly during this period and the feeling of separate nationhood among Muslims had begun to grow steadily. It was voiced by leaders on public platforms,[5] in the press[6] and privately.[7] The Pakistan plan

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1. B. 1880; Secretary of State for Air, 1922-4, 1924-9 and 1940; Conservative party delegate to the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference (1930-2) and Member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933-4; Secretary of the State for India, 1931-5; Foreign Secretary, 1935; First Lord of Admiralty, 1936-7; Home Secretary, 1937-9; Lord Privy Seal and Member of War Cabinet, 1939-40; Ambassador to Spain, 1940-4; cr. Viscount Templewood, 1944; d. 1959.
2. See Willingdon to Samuel Hoare, 23 October 1933, India Office Library, Templewood Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 240/6.
3. Information given to me by Zafrulla Khan in an interview in London on 22 May 1970.
4. See Lothian to Samuel Hoare and Ramsay McDonald, 30 April 1932, HM Scottish Record Office, Lothian Muniments, GD40/17/162. These contain reports of Lothian's interview with Fazl-i-Husain in Delhi. In these letters, Fazl-i-Husain is described by both Lothian and Willingdon as the 'keenest' and 'astutest politician in India'.
5. The following had occurred in the Aga Khan's presidential address at the inauguration of the Muslim Conference in Delhi: 'The Muslims of India are not a community, but, in a special sense, a nation composed of many communities and of a population outnumbering in the aggregate the total even of the pre-war German Empire'. *Times of India*, 1 January 1929.
6. See article entitled 'The Two Distinct "Nations" of India' by Haji Rahim Bakhsh, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 15 June 1933.
7. See Hailey to Irwin, 3 December 1929, India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/16, for the remarks of

which was launched by students at Cambridge had begun to attract attention of leaders[1] and was discussed in articles[2] and a series of letters[3] in the columns of newspapers. But with all his determination not to allow the Muslim position to suffer politically, there is, in Fazl-i-Husain's thinking, a total absence of any scheme to divide the country on communal lines. He recast the Aga Khan's letter of 13 August 1935,[4] in which the word 'Pakestan' had occurred, in order to prepare and present the future programme of the Indian Muslims. His elimination of the word 'Pakestan' from it is significant. But realist as he was he could hardly entertain thoughts of partition when Britain was, or at least appeared to be, in firm control of Indian affairs.

In his last days, Jinnah and he could not agree over the formation of the Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League. He died before the issue was resolved and Jinnah's ideas and position became clear and stable. He shared with Jinnah independence of outlook, cour-

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Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, at a meeting with Hailey. Also see Irwin to Hailey, 16 April 1932, *Ibid.*, MSS. Eur. E. 220/24 in which Irwin wrote: 'I must confess, though I should not say so publicly, that to me the prospects of an All-India federation seem to recede in favour of some division of India that would hold better hope of containing means of settling the communal difficulty'.

1. See report of Dr. B S. Moonje's interview with the Associated Press in Bombay on 12 June 1933 in which he accused Muslims of 'dreaming of a separate sovereign federation, called Pakistan composed of the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir, with Afghanistan as the centre'. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 13 June 1933.
2. See Gulshan Rai's articles under the titles of 'Communal Problem in the Punjab and British Imperial Interests', 'The Pakistan Mentality' and 'The Pakistan Mentality and the Punjab Muslims'. *Ibid.*, 19, 25 August, 1 and 8 September 1934 and 30 March and 13 April 1935.
3. See K. G. Ahmad, 'The "Pakistan" Scheme'; P. L. Chhabra, 'Pan-Islamism'; Ghulam Rabbani, 'Pakistan Movement; Niaz Mahmood, 'Pakistan, A False Alarm'; Syed Shaukat Ali, 'The Pakistan Ideal'; and Malik Ata Ullah Khan, 'Pakistan Mentality'. *Ibid.*, 23 May 1933, 21 September, 4 October and 1 November 1934 and 7 January and 11 April 1935 respectively.
4. Letter 373, *Infra.*

age, foresight, integrity, a constitutional approach to politics and a determination to fight for a cause. Each highly valued these qualities in the other. To start with, both had joined the Congress before they had joined the Muslim League, both had participated in making the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and both resigned from the Congress in 1920 over its programme of civil rebellion. In 1924, both had sat together in Lahore to revive the Muslim League. If Jinnah had attempted to replace the separate electorates by his Delhi Proposals of 1927 and negotiated with Malaviya in 1934 on the same subject, Fazl-i-Husain, too, han done so with the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs in 1933. Both cherished India's cause and Muslim rights. Jinnah's Fourteen Points of March 1929 were not fundamentally different from Fazli's own plan for the future of Indian Muslims.

Fazl-i-Husain served in the Punjab and the central governments during the last fifteen years of his life. Jinnah was never associated with the government in this manner. But Jinnah's conduct in the Legislative Assembly during 1923-30 and also later was very constitutional and, on the major issues of political progress, the views of the two were identical; besides, Jinnah, though he did not hold any office, worked in close collaboration with Viceroy Irwin at least during 1929-31.[1]

Between Fazl-i-Husain's death and the inauguration of the provincal constitution there was a gap of only nine months, but until 1936 the issues and attitudes were very different from those of the later period. Fazl-i-Husain saw India through the Punjab and Bengal where Muslims, if they acted discreetly, had a chance of establishing a foothold which would enable them to exercise their influence over affairs in the rest of the country. Jinnah, on the other hand, saw all Indian provinces collectively in which everywhere Muslims confronted the British and Hindus. Fazli's eyes were fixed on the new statute and his plans were designed to make the best of it. Jinnah accepted the communal part of it which had satisfied the

1. See Waheed Ahmad, (ed.), *Jinnah Irwin Correspondence*, 1927-30, (Lahore, 1969).

Muslims,[1] but rejected the rest which did not meet national aspirations.[2] Fazl-i-Husain was the only leading politician who had produced in his *Punjab Politics* in 1936 a practical programme for working the reforms in the Punjab and, in a supreme effort, had risen from his death-bed to implement it. His plan for the Indian Muslims under new conditions had not yet been prepared. After all, the government aim for the present was only to set up responsible governments in the provinces. The all-India federation had to await the fulfilment of several conditions. Had he lived, his involvement with affairs elsewhere could not have been long delayed. He had been an all-India politician for a considerable period and could not remain confined to the Punjab shell for long. It was not without substance that in June 1936, when his appointment in the Punjab Government was announced, a principal Muslim daily in the other far corner of India proclaimed him as 'the man of destiny'.[3]

I am leaving the subject at that. I have attempted to raise issues relevant to that period and refrained from making value judgements. This the reader must do for himself by studying the documents which follow.

I am deeply grateful to Mian Azim Husain for his generosity in placing at my disposal the entire collection of his father's papers. I thank Dr. S. R. Mehrotra of the Institute of Historical Research, Simla, for providing me with typescripts of some valuable editorial comments in the *Tribune* now preserved at Chandigarh in India. Professor D. A. Low of the University of Sussex allowed me access to his own collection of the photocopies of the Sapru Papers and Sri B. N. Sapru gave me permission to use his grandfather's papers. I thank them. I also thank the Librarians and staff of the India Office Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Senate House Library of the University of London, the British Museum and

1. See Jinnah's compromise resolution on the Parliamentary Committee Report which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly and adopted on 7 February 1935. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. I-No. 7, pp. 575-6.
2. See Jinnah's speech at the opening session of the Muslim League in Bombay on 12 April 1936 in which he called upon the Indians 'to do with' the Act 'what the Germans did with the Treaty of Versailles'. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 14 April 1936.
3. Editorial comment, *Star of India*, 1 June 1936.

HM Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, for giving me all necessary assistance. My debt to late Dr. S. M. Ikram, Dr, M. Jahangir Khan and the Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore, who deputed me to work on the project in London is great. I am also thankful to Raja F.M. Majed for undertaking the laborious task of going through the manuscript, supervise its printing and removing mistakes wherever possible. However, a work of this nature is bound to suffer from omissions and commissions and I only hope that the publishers will be able to eliminate them if ever opportunity occurred to publish a second edition of it.

I have collected speeches and statements of Fazl-i-Husain made in the Punjab and the central legislatures and elsewhere during 1916-36. When published, they will provide an even fuller picture of Fazl-i-Husain's political career.

12, Camrose Avenue,
Edgware, Middlesex,
England.

WAHEED AHMAD
16 March 1976

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12, Camrose Avenue, WAHEED AHMAD
Edgware, Middlesex, 16 March 1976
England.

1.

Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

3rd August, 1924.
India Office Library,
Hailey Collection,
MSS. Eur. E. 220 [HC]/6.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I will do my best. The change suggested is raising 20 p.c. to 33 p.c., as they say, at least. They have been told that it is impossible. There is a tendency for people situated as the Councillors are to feel that something additional has been secured through their exertions. Is it possible for Your Excellency to consider 25 in place of 20 – this means nearly 3¾ lakhs. Reasons for it are :

1. The amount is not very large.
2. It can perhaps be spared.
3. 25 p.c. or 4 annas in the rupee is more intelligible to the Zamindar than 20 p.c.
4. It is an improvement which they will feel they have through their own exertions secured from you.

If Your Excellency approves of it, then the Members may be permitted to wait upon you simply to beg you to remit a higher percentage than 20 p.c.

In case, Your Excellency does not approve of it, then if I find that it will afford some solace to the Members to feel that they have done their best if they have represented their case to you, then I would suggest Your Excellency seeing them otherwise not.

In view of the great pressure that the extremist Press (both Hindu and Muslim) and Congress are bringing to bear on these unfortunate Councillors, I commend the change from 20 to 25 to Your Excellency's favourable consideration.

If I were to know Your Excellency's directions as to this point, it will help me in the consultation meeting today—12 to 3.

Yours Faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

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2. [note], 16 August 1924.
India Office Library,
HC/6.

Water Rates

1. In Simla, the terms were 20 p.c. reduction, on the assumption that the net income will be 75 lakhs thus reducing the income to 60 lakhs. Of the 15 lakhs abandoned, nearly 8 to be made good by water and stamp taxation. This was communicated to Members.
2. In Lahore, if full settlement obtained, another 4 lakhs would. have been abandoned.
3. In Lahore Members were under the impression that 96 lakhs was to be realised and wanted the net income from urbanised water rates not to exceed 50 lakhs, and agreed to water and stamp taxation to the extent of 8 lakhs.
4. The matter in dispute now is thus considerably restricted. 60+8 V. 50+8 and *probably* Your Excellency was prepared to reduce 60 by 4. I say, probably, because I do not feel sure of it—whether 25 p.c. was on 75 or on 79.
5. Just now, the situation for a settlement is most favourable. Zamindar Party has given a good explanation of their desire to come to terms with Govt. and of their refusal to make this a matter of civil disobedience. Some propaganda work in the Press shd. go on, and I am not quite clear on what lines—on 60 only, or on something between 60 and 50 ?
6. Subsidiary terms are—(a) Efforts for Economy and Retrenchment ; (b) Reconsideration on the remission of contribution ; and

(c) A small committee to advise how the reduced rates are to be distributed over various canals (?) or crops.

Fazl-i-Husain

H.E.

3.

Rohtak.
19 August 1924.
HC/6.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Yesterday I could not catch on the phone more than the fact that the change of date or postponement of election had nothing to do with my case.

Now kindly ask some one to write in detail. I am not at all hopeful now but thousands of people are coming here to meet me and asking me all sorts of questions.

A cutting from Kesari shows machinations of the other party. I think they have to ask for a thing and will get it. Kindly show the cutting to H.E. also if you think proper. What are your views ?

I am sorry you are being put to all sorts of troubles and worries for my sake. I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Lal Chand.

P.S.

Who are in the run now and what are their prospects for Ministership ?

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1. Enclosure of Fazl-i-Husain's note to Hailey, 20—25 August 1925. India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/6 (in subsequent references, this Hailey Collection cited as HC, with stroke and volume number) the text of which is as follows :

Chaudhri Lal Chand's letter and the cutting from Kesari—the suggestion is that Chaudhri Lal Chand should be disbarred on the basis of the findings in the Election Commission's Report. It is stated in the Paper that the High Court Bar is moving in the matter, or the High Court should on its own move in the matter.

4. 2, Lytton Road, Lahore.
1st January 1925.
HC/7.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I wish you a Happy New Year and feel sure that the administration which has commenced with such signal success will achieve still greater success during the ensuing year.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i-Husain.

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5. Ministry of Education, Punjab Government

Fazl-i-Husain to Sir Malcolm Hailey, with a note entitled "Gurdwara Legislation",
8 February 1925.
HC/7.

We are going to go through the clauses of the Draft Bill tomorrow. The salient points are sometimes overlooked when considering the details, so I have written a short note bringing out two or three points and am submitting it for Your Excellency's consideration.

Fazl-i-Husain

H.E.

Gurdwara Lagislation

I. Its Origin :

It was contended that the management was bad—immoral, corrupt and dishonest—and that its improvement through Law Courts was not practicable inasmuch as Law Courts were (a) dilatory, (b) conservative and therefore *prima facie* not in support of reform, (c) demanding judicial proof which was not always easy to produce and (d) expensive on account of court-fees, costs of litigation, etc., those seeking reform having to spend money from their own pockets, while those opposing reforms, being in

possessions of institutions, were possessed of their funds and were in a position to use them to defeat the objects of those who were seeking reform. Government was to a large extent prepared to admit these contentions to be valid and was prepared to legislate with a view to secure the discharge or dismissal of immoral, corrupt, dishonest or inefficient managers and in order to secure a speedy disposal of such disputes, to have special courts for these matters, and to secure a sympathetic hearing of the cases of those who seek reform was prepared to have a special court and even to a slight extent shift the onus. The first Bill which was introduced in Council, the second Bill which was prepared by H.M.F. but was not introduced in Council, the third Bill which was introduced and passed, and the fourth Bill which was prepared but not introduced, all were designed to meet the just demands of the Akalis. During the last 4 years, the Punjab Government discussed many problems connected with the Gurdwara legislation and arrived at definite decisions. As a new Bill is now being considered, I have deemed it necessary to write this note for His Excellency's consideration.

II. **The propositions which are involved in this legislation are as follows :**

1. Sikh institutions versus non-Sikh institutions. We were always clear that this matter should be left to a non-Sikh tribunal and the present Bill adheres to this decision.

2. Sikh institutions versus the institutions of Udasis, Nirmalas and Namdharis. We decided that the institutions of these sects should be protected, and I believe the present Bill also aims at this and in drafting it will be seen that this object is carried out.

3. Sikh institutions in charge of Udasis. Here the Punjab Government's opinion was definitely to the effect that every help should be given to the Akalis to remove the immoral, the dishonest, the corrupt amongst the Udasi managers of Sikh shrines, but it was also definitely laid down that Government will not legislate so as to change the course of succession where by usage an institution is held by a particular sect and legally there is a vested right in that sect to hold that institution. If a change can be brought about by compromise, well and good ; otherwise the law of the

land on this subject will not be altered by Gurdwara legislation. The reasons in support of this view were—

(a) While there is justification for the removal of the immoral, the dishonest, the corrupt and even the inefficient managers, there is no justification for altering the law and usage governing succession to Gaddis in favour of Udasis, unless it was established that all Udasis were corrupt and immoral, and this could not be done.

(b) If by legislation rights of succession to these institutions can be interfered with, where is the guarantee that Government will not interfere with the rights of succession to ordinary estates. The sense of security in the enjoyment of vested rights in property, which a well-established civilized Government guarantees, is likely to be jeopardized by such a legislation.

(c) This legislation is also objectionable on the ground that the pending judicial cases, which ordinarily would have been decided in accordance with the law prevailing at the time of their institution, will by this fresh legislation be decided under a law which has been changed during the pendency of those suits – again a procedure considered as open to criticism.

(d) In the absence of a good case being made out in support of the change, the legislation on the point was bound to be taken as submission to the strong Akali agitation on the subject.

4. There were private benefactions and there were trust. There can be no objection to private benefactions and trusts—whether private or public—to be carried out as desired by the benefactors or by the creators of trusts. The question of immorality, corruption and dishonesty does not arise in their case, and I see no justification for this interference. The same arguments can be urged in support of this as are given in support of the preceding point.

5. Forms of worship or ceremonial. The Akali agitation has never formulated definitely the proposition that their form of worship and their ceremonial is the only authentic Sikh faith and ceremonial, and where there is no immorality, no dishonesty and no corruption, it is inconceivable that the ceremonies prevailing in Sikh institutions be altered because the Akalis for the time being are in a majority, and those Sikhs who have been worshipping at those shrines and Gurdwaras are to give up their forms of faith and their ceremonial because they are few and peaceful. That again is bound to be treated as the failure of the Government to protect the weak, though they are in the right, against the strong who are aggressive and cannot be controlled ; and the wrong will be greater because it is wrong to be legalized. The former Bills never accepted this position and Government adhered to its decision not to agree to this. It seems to me that the present Bill goes beyond the previous ones on this point as well.

There is a possible solution of these difficulties and it consists in placing the matters of (a) determination of usage as to succession to Mahantship, (2) nature of trust, and (3) form of ceremonial or faith observed in particular institutions, within the jurisdiction of the tribunal, and giving a separate clause to those between clauses 6 and 7.

6. Under the head compensation, one is startled by clause 20. If those seeking reform want to expropriate a Mahant, how can they say that the usual expenditure will be the first charge ? Surely the compensation due to the person expropriated should be the first charge. The provisions in Part I, which deal with compensation, are likely to be considered as harsh and unfair to the persons who are going to be expropriated.

III. The Central Board :

1. One would have expected that the Central Board would be built up from below and not that the Central Board would come into being first and build down the special committees and the ordinary committees to look after the Gurdwaras.

2. Disqualification of candidates and members—the question of *patit*.

3. Most of the clauses will fall under the head of rules, and in order not to give rise to suspicion it would be best to have the rules ready and to pass them along with the Bill but not as a part of the Bill.

4. It is worth noting that in 1923 the Punjab Government refused to agree to the Central Board having even a representative on the local-committees, and in the present Bill under clause 54 the general superintendence vests in the Central Board, and further under sub-clause (2) of clause 54, the Board gets funds from the committees too.

IV. Local Committees :

Their territorial jurisdiction is left undefined. On what basis is it to be laid down in the Schedule ? To my mind the correct thing would be to have a territorial committee for each Gurdwara, and then all these committees to serve as an electorate for the election of the Central Board.

V. The subject falls within the Ministry of Education. On the points raised above definite views were held by the Punjab Government. It is open to the Government to reconsider its views and modify them in the light of the present circumstances. My own position is this. Even if I am not convinced that some provisions of the Bill are just and fair, I am not prepared to oppose the Bill when H.M.F. and H.E. approve of those provisions, as it is for them to say whether in the interests of peace and good order they should have this legislation or not, and on that point I am bound to take their view as the last word on the subject. In the Bill for the Mohammadan community, I will of courses not include the provisions which I think are on general principles unsound.

VI. Politically while recognizing the need of the Bill and the supreme importance of giving all the assistance that is necessary to the reform movement, I think it is wrong to give a Bill including provisions which are unjust and unfair. This sort of thing has a very strong tendency to undermine the faith of the people in the stability of Government, and in the end does more harm than good ; and further while one seeks to effect a

cure of one disease many other maladies in the body politic soon appear. Here again whatever my own views may be, I cannot press them if H.M.F. and H.E. feel, that they need those provisions.

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6. Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

9 February 1925.
India Office Library,
HC/7.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

H.M.F. is primarily concerned, and he is probably cognisant of the points mentioned in my note. I have no objection to his seeing the note.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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7. Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

Quetta.
13 July 1925,
HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

As I left Simla by Rail Motor on the 9th, I had no opportunity of tendering my tribute of admiration for the address to our Council and its delivery It was the most magnificent performance I have come across, and has turned a difficult position—one of surrender—into one of victory for Govt.

The announcement is bound to be well received throughout India, and several people have already given interviews to the Associated Press. The Sikhs can't now find fault with it. Your Excellency's move does not leave them any choice in the matter.

Journey from Lahore to Quetta is a great nuisance—sand, dirt, heat, glare, and unrelieved monotony of arid barren deserts make it very unpleasant and tiresome. Quetta, is, I am told, this year, warmer than it has been for some years, but it is only from 10 to 6 in the evening that

it is inclined to be unpleasantly warm. It is, however, quite dry, and may do me a lot of good, and I am very much obliged to you for letting me try it.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

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8. Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

Lytton Road, Quetta.
16 July 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I believe some more papers will write appreciative notes of Your Excellency's announcement.

As to the Sikh attitude—my own forecast is that they will fall into line, and that those in opposition will constitute the left wing. But it is so difficult to forecast about Sikhs ! I am in a way afraid that the Rural element is running a very serious risk of constituting that left wing. I have tried to get them dissuaded from following that course, but am apprehensive of their not being intelligent and sober enough to count the gain and loss and strike the balance.

I feel I ought to have been in Simla, and but for this Bolan Pass might have beaten a hasty retreat. However, I am ready to return whenever Your Excellency thinks my presence there is required.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

9.

Quetta.
19 July 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

So the S.G.P.C. and the Akali leaders have decided to work the Bill, and in *jointly* opposing the offer of release on giving the undertaking,

have for the time being again presented a united front. Lajpat Rai, Gandhi, Muslims of all shades of opinion have expressed the view that the undertaking is by no means derogatory to their self-respect. The Sikh attitude creates a very delicate situation. This is dictating terms of peace with a vengeance. What is to be done ? The choice is between keeping the prisoners in jail, a pretty large number and continuing the strife or giving way and accepting the suggestion that the S.G.P.C.'s Resolution is enough and may be taken as the required undertaking on behalf of individual prisoners. This course will be taken as surrender.

I have given the matter some thought and have come to the conclusion that Your Excellency's announcement should be strictly adhered to, and though before the announcement I was inclined to the general amnesty policy, I now feel that it would be a mistake to revert to it, whether directly or indirectly. The Sikh decision reflects the general principle that in a conflict, as long as a party's strength is undamaged or unbroken, it seldom cares to act reasonably.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

10.

Barnes Court Simla.
31 July 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Many thanks for your letter of the 19th, which I ought to have answered earlier, but I have been away on tour, and am only just getting clear again. I think you are right in saying that the S.G.P.C. and the Akali leaders have decided to work the Bill, and in fact, even the prisoners in the Fort seem to have made a formal declaration to this effect. The "Babar Sher" and the "Kirpan Bahadur" of course continue their tirades against it, and write in the most extraordinary fashion on the subject, maintaining that quite apart from the imperfections of the Bill itself, it is impossible to consider bringing into operation until the Maharaja of Nabha has been restored. I believe, however, that they represent a small

section only, and meanwhile, the Council Members of the S.G.P.C. are gaining authority by their management of affairs at Jaito. They quite rightly took charge at a very early date before the Akali Dal people could be able to make mischief. There has been incident there up-to-date, and we hope that their ceremonies will conclude in a few days' time. The extremists who began by saying that the rules laid down could not be accepted under any conditions, thus find themselves in the position of having to explain their inability to disturb matters by saying that these are 'rules' only, and not 'conditions'. That is true, but they started out on a very different track.

For my part I believe that Mahtab Singh and some others would really like to accept our conditions of release, but find themselves embarrassed by the premature declaration in the Press, that they had announced that they would accept no conditions. The alternative has of course been put forward that we should accept a declaration from the S.G.P.C. and this has been urged on me by Tara Singh and others. They did not however themselves pretend that the whole of the people now under trial or in prison would accept the Gurdwara Bill, and would promise them (the S.G.P.C.) to work it. I naturally ask whether we are to release those also, or whether we are to request the S.G.P.C. to furnish us with a list showing which of the prisoners we should release, and which we should detain ?

I was somewhat struck, when on tour, by the variety of opinions on this question. There were some such as Capt. Janmeja Singh, who thought that we might now safely release everybody. But there were very many others who were strongly opposed to any such suggestion. My own conclusion is that we should do nothing one way or the other. It is, in any case, absolutely necessary to clear Jaito out of the way, because it was Jaito that formed the chief excuse for *Jathabandi* and it was *Jathabandi* that kept alive the movement in the villages, and give the Akali Dal its principal source of influence. We can, I think, very well afford to wait and see what happens. If it is perfectly clear that the bill is going to be worked now, then the question of release becomes one of secondary importance.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
W. M. Hailey

11. Ministry of Education,

Punjab Government

Quetta.

5th August 1925.

HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

Your monsoon tour has been a highly successful one and I believe it has contributed to the improvement in the Sikh situation. I believe the working of the Gurdwara legislation is now assured and the cleavage between the Pro-Acts and the anti-Acts has come to stay. This is much better than I expected. Beasley is at work on the Rules. When they are ready, Tara Singh, Jodh Singh and Mohinder Singh (Deputy President, Legislative Council) might be summoned to see them and make suggestions for improving them. By the 1st of September our Rules should be ready and duly published in the Gazette. Steps might be taken to have elections in October—we better have elections of the Local Committees and the C.B. held simultaneously.

As to the 'condition' clause—I feel the speech is the last word on the subject and it should be strictly adhered to. We do not want separate sheets, but all men in one place can give this joint declaration. This is like the Congress creed. Declaration from Parbandhak Committee, before that body itself is re-baptised presents some difficulties.

2. High Court Judgeship—the matter seems to have travelled beyond our Province and it is such a pity. I trust Your Excellency's and Government of India's choice will fall on some one in the Punjab—Abdul Qadir, Mohammed Iqbal, Shah Nawaz, Shahabuddin—to mention the names alphabetically—are all capable lawyers of standing and anyone of them will discharge the functions of this office as well as several of his colleagues. I am inclined to go even so far as to submit that importing a Muslim from outside will be more open to criticism than not to appoint a Muslim, because the importation of an inferior man will cause more widespread irritation than the former. Amongst younger men, Dr. Shujauddin and

Zafrullah Khan are quite good, while Niaz Mohammed Vakil is a lawyer of considerable ability.

3. For Titles and Honours—I am submitting a separate note.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

TITLES OF HONOURS

I. Education

D.P.I. is sending these :

1. Miss Stratford—K-i-H Gold Medal (repeating).
2. Mr. Hogg (Boy Scouting)—K-i-H Silver Medal.
3. Hemmy—C.I.E.

1. K.S. Maqbul Shah—K.B.
2. Mohammed Din—K.S.
3. Rallia Ram—R.S.
4. Manohar Lal-R.B.—if V.C. agrees to this.

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II. Medical

1. Col. Sutherland—Kt. (repeating).
2. I.C.S. Ghulam Jilani (Haziq-ul-Mulk) (repeating).

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III. Local Self-Govt.

1. Shahab Din—Nawab or C.I.E. (repeating).
2. Fazl Ali—He is a K.B. of very long standing, perhaps 10 or 15 years. He is a man of strong convictions and great independence of character. Conservative in politics, he is progressive in matters relating to administration. Has been for a very long time President of M.C. and

V.P. of D.B. He is very good Zamindar. H.E., I believe, knows him well. He is not a pushing man, but is a thoroughly reliable man. He was elected M.L.C. in 1920 and 1923, unopposed. He thoroughly deserves—C.I.E. or Nawab.

3. Ahmadyar Daultana—Was Member in the first Reformed Council. Is working on Sanitary Board, takes interest in Boy Scouts, Red Cross, etc. Is now over 30 and old enough to receive encouragement. *Not* below Khan Bahadurship, if a recognition is contemplated.

IV. Miscelaneous

S. Ram Singh—Sirdar Sahib Ram Singh has been my P.A. for more than four years, and has done a great deal of confidential work—writing to papers, etc. As I did a great deal of legislation work in 1921-23, he also had to be very busy. During all this Sikh trouble, I found him entirely reliable. As I was Chairman of St. Johns Ambulance for four years and now of Red Cross also, he has been doing the work of these Societies as well. His past record is also creditable.

I am consulting D.P.I. and I.G.C.H. and may have to send in one or two more names.

Fazl-i-Husain
Member for Education.
5/8/25.

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12. Private Secretary to Viceroy to Fazl-i-Husain
(Through Agent to Governor-General, Baluchistan)
Telegram P. No. 179-S., 17 August 1925.
India Office Library, Reading Collection,
MSS. Eur. E. 238 [RC]/27.

Clear the Line. Strictly Confidential

Kindly communicate the following to Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Minister, Punjab Government, who is staying in Quetta :

Begin. His Excellency the Viceroy would be glad to know whether, during the absence on leave of Sir Muhammad Habibullah, you are prepared to act as Member of Governor-General's Executive Council for three months. Sir Malcolm Hailey has no objection to the proposal. His Excellency would, if you accept, like you to join at Simla at once, as Sir Muhammad Habibullah has already left. Kindly let me have your reply by telegram. *Ends.*

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13. Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

Quetta.
18 August 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I am much obliged to you for the arrangements made to fill the post of the Secretary to the Transferred Departments. I appreciate the difficulty in the way of getting Hilton, and in fact, in view of Beasley's possible (I hope it will be probable) return to India, it was not necessary to do so.

I am sorry about the Panipat affair, and for the present do not see any suitable remedy for this "aggressiveness". The underlying idea seems to be "to organise", and everything else is made subservient to it. I have written to Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, that our friends the Swarajists should not be allowed to pass as champions of the Jats, and that he should bring about a mutual good feeling between Jats and Muslims of that Ilaqa, and have told him that he can count upon the support of Maulvi Rahim Bakhsh, Karnal Nawabs and Muslims generally.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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14. Fazl-i-Husain to Private Secretary to Viceroy (Through Agent to Governor-General, Baluchistan),
Telegram, 19 August 1925,
RC/27.

Telegram P., No. 149-S., Ziarat, 19 August 1925.

No. 468-S. Please refer to your No. 179-S. I commun-

icated His Excellency's message to Sir Fazl-i-Husain who asked me to reply as follows :

Begins : Please convey my thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his kind offer. I will leave for Simla by the next train arriving Simla 21st, consult Sir Malcolm Hailey and submit my answer. Ends.

Sir F. Husain also asks that a copy of his reply above may be sent to Sir M.Hailey for his information.

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15. 22nd August, 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

As H. E. the Viceroy has been pleased to offer me the appointment Member of the Governor General's Executive Council during the absence on 3 months leave of the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habib, and you deem it right and proper that it be accepted, I have decided to accept it. This involves my resigning my office as Minister of Education in the Punjab, and I beg to tender my resignation. Even in this formal note I must express my heartfelt gratitude to you for all the kindness, help, advice, and encouragement I received from you.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i-Husain.

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16. Barnes Court,
Simla.
16th October, 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I find that the Government of India is issuing a Gazette Extraordinary tomorrow, announ-

cing nominations for the 26th October. I am not absolutely certain without the Rules (and I am sorry to say these are packed up) that Mehr Shah need resign his seat merely for the purpose of nomination; my belief is that he need not resign it unless he is elected. If so, his resignation need not necessarily take place till late in November, and I think we must treat independently the question of the Punjab Muslim Landowners Constituency. I will settle this date definitely on 22nd October when I get to Lahore.

As you say, the decision about the High Court appointments has of course caused a good deal of disappointments and the "Muslim Outlook" sustains its unenviable reputation in the article it has issued. For my part, my strongest feeling on the subject is disgust at the manner in which the names of candidates to a High Court Judgeship have been canvassed during the last three months. The fact that a man's name has been canvassed in this manner inevitably creates a certain prejudice against him, and if he is not himself responsible, then, I am afraid, he sometimes has to suffer for the indiscretion of his friends.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
W. M. Hailey.

———

17. Inveraram,
Simla.
17th October, 1925. HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

Besides the talk I had on the phone, there are two things I want to mention.

1. Government Advocate's post. There are several thoroughly competent Muslims in the Punjab, and I trust, one of them will be selected to fill the vacancy. This will assuage the embittered feelings to a certain extent.

2. Dates for nomination etc. in the Punjab Landholders Constituency I suggest these be fixed on the 23rd after I have seen you.

I can come at any time between 3 and 7 P.M. on the 23rd that suits you.

I remain
Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i-Husain.

———

18. Fazl-i-Husain to Lady Hailey,
with a note and two items from
the *Muslim Outlook*, Lahore.
Inveraram, Simla
21st October, 1925,
HC/8.

Dear Lady Hailey,

Your own letter of the 21st. I am sending out my views on the subject (copy enclosed). I am glad you approve of the draft.

Your letter in type : I regret that you are still under the impression that this Muslim paper organ is the organ of the men you have mentioned in your letter. As a matter of fact, this is not so. It counts, among its supporters, Mian Shah Nawaz, Mian Bashir Ahmed and Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi, the former two having given it very good financial support. I wish you would hold me no more responsible for all that appears in the "Muslim Outlook" than you yourself are for all that appears in the "Civil and Military Gazette". Then, you seem to think that there is something peculiarly Muslim about purdah. Have you realised that in Lahore Lady Shadi Lal, Mrs. Jai Lal, Mrs. Moti Sagar, Mrs. Ram Saran Das and in fact, the wives of the Jullundur Sardars and Kunwars are all in purdah. Purdah will give way gradually and we all look to the influence of European ladies in helping its gradual removal. I fully appreciate the difficulties of the pioneers against Indian women coming out of purdah, and I have the highest respect and regard for them. Whether the process of coming out of purdah can be accelerated depends very largely upon the way those who have come out of purdah conduct themselves. Any creation of strong public opinion against them will, unfortunately, militate against the gradual removal of

purdah, and is, therefore, to be discouraged. I will try to bring about a good atmosphere, but please see, as I wrote to you last night, that no telegrams are published and no publicity is given to any silly jokes that may be going.

I remain,
Your most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

I have just now seen Muslim Outlook of the 21st. It appears that the Sunday Times published all your letters. I begged you not to write to me or to anybody and leave this matter to me to settle, but you issued these letters and the Tribune and the Sunday Times have begun to blackguard me for it, and so the controversy grows. At such a stage it is no use my sending this note of mine for publication. I better wait till the 23rd in any case.

Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

Lady Hailey, Barnes Court,
Simla.

(Sir Fazl-i-Husain enclosed note to Lady Hailey).

I have been asked to state whether purdah ladies and their husbands object to meet European ladies and Indian nonpurdah ladies whether in purdah club or privately.

I have no hesitation in saying that purdah ladies and their husbands highly appreciate the goodness, the devotion and the sympathy of the English ladies in India, and owe them a deep debt of gratitude for all that they have done for them, and they trust that the good relations subsisting between the European and non-purdah Indian ladies on the one hand, and the purdah ladies on the other, will continue to subsist to the mutual benefit of both, and they would continue to appreciate each other's good points and thus contribute to the well-being of Indian society. I have good reason to believe that this is the view which is held by the Indians at large.

(*Cutting from*) *Muslim Outlook*, Lahore,
21st October, 1925.

"SILLY WOMEN" CONTROVERSY

According to the "Sunday Times" the following letters were addressed by Lady Hailey to members of the Purdah Club :

Letter No. 1

I have read both articles and I strongly think that the only thing you and we all ought to do is to take no notice whatsoever of it.

We all stay condemned as having no sense, no morals, no modesty or even decency and in condemning the women they naturally condemn the men who tolerate the terrible women who are their mothers and wives.

It is wonderful that a small joke should have caused such poisonous abuse of all the community.

I see that the writer has apologised to the ladies of Queen Mary School. But truly an apology from such a mentality is hardly better than its abuse.

I repeat it is not for us to touch the article of September 30 : But this is an ultimatum from us out of Purdah. It is for the men who keep their women in Purdah to vindicate us, if they wish us to continue to meet their Purdah women.

We must know the names, clearly of the Purdah ladies' husbands who openly repudiate this article and who will ask us non Purdah not to withdraw from social intercourse with their purdah wives and daughters.

Letter No. 2

I have been asked to give dates on which I should attend Purdah Parties. The ladies who wish to give these parties are the wives of the Muslim gentlemen who are presumably supporters of the "Muslim Outlook," and I am left in doubt whether their husbands can really desire that any of the "Shoddy European" and "uproarious Hindu"

women and those thoroughly condemned Muslim women who have left the Purdah should consort with their wives.

I regret to say that I have seen as yet no public condemnation on their part of the article in the "Muslim Outlook" indeed, for all that the world knows, they may sympathise with it.

I think that we Europeans, Hindus and Muslim Ladies out of Purdah should not any more intrude on the Purdah ladies until we have some cl ear and public proof that the husbands of our Purdah friends disassociate themselves from the degrading attack which is delivered against us all equally.

Letter No. 3

Barnes Court, Simla E.
12th October, 1925.

I am sending you some papers to show what is happening and what my course of action is.

If the husbands of you Muslim Purdah ladies who meet us and our Hindu lady friends, in party Purdah or otherwise. If I repeat your husbands permit their own organ the "Muslim Outlook" to speak of us in such degrading terms, I see no other way but to do what the article advise Namely that you Purdah Muslim ladies should form a society of your own and take your own line of progress instead of continuing to consort with us.

(Sd) Alexandera Hailey.

———

(Cutting from)
The Muslim Outlook, Lahore.
21st October, 1925.

"SILLY WOMEN" OR POLITICAL INTRIGUERS

We have already expressed our surprise at the attitude which Her Excellency Lady Hailey has taken up with regard to the "Silly Women" controversy, but we believe that the episode is explainable and we

propose to explain it as far as we can do so—especially as it has its political complexion. But first we must again repeat that the people and tendencies denounced by us as vigorously as we could contrive, were, first, the wrong sort of European society woman—the "fast" and frivolous type— and secondly those Indian women who showed a tendency to imitate not the European *lady* but the silly butterfly. We maintain that the episode of the address to Pandit Nehru was unladylike judged by any standards and especially by the standards of Islam and the modesty of deportment which Islam enjoins. No Muslim will contend that Islam which bids men and women to cast their eyes down when in public could possibly permit a Muslim woman pertly to rally a Pandit upon the appearance of his upper-lip. To our view a European lady of any culture must herself regard the address to the Pandit as having been in execrable taste. The exchange of such pert personalities could be excusable only between people on terms of the greatest intimacy with each other, and no Muslim woman has any business to be on such intimate terms with anyone outside her family. This being the case, it is to us amazing that Her Excellency should have associated herself and other European ladies with the particular people whose pertness we had condemned. That Her Excellency has allied herself with the Indian moustache-admirers there seems, unfortunately, little reason to doubt as the detailed correspondence published in the local freak journal, the "Sunday Times," and which we reproduce to-day, appears to be authentic. Her Excellency writes :

"We all stay condemned as having no sense, no morals, no modesty or even decency." And again :—

"It is wonderful that such a small joke should have caused such poisonous abuse of all the community."

To most readers it must have been a puzzle why Lady Hailey should insist that in condemning the action of an explicitly indicated few, the "Outlook" denounced the whole world of women outside the *purdah*. But the explanation is forthcoming. A clue to it was provided by the statement published in the "Civil and Military Gazette" and other papers describing the "Muslim Outlook" as "a Ministerial

organ." This gives the show away. While Lady Hailey misled by clever intriguers imagines she is attacking the "Muslim Outlook," those who have misled Her Excellency into so unwise a display of partizanship are bent upon undermining the influence and position of Sir Fazl-i-Husain and the Ministerialists in the Punjab. They fly at higher game than the "Muslim Outlook" and their attacks on this paper are merely a means to an end. That was why so great and greatly dishonest insistence was laid upon the "Muslim Outlook" being a Ministerial organ and that was why Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdual Qadir were expressly named in the first press statement. The unholy alliance between Hindus and a few but ambitious Muslims to sap the influence of Sir Fazl-i-Husain has obviously exploited Lady Hailey's credulity and led her to make a public pronouncement which, coming from the wife of the Governor of a Province, is amazingly indiscreet. The object of this pretty intrigue is to place Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir on the horns of a dilemma. The Ministerialists can hardly make a statement against *Purdah* or in any way condone the pertness of the Muslim ladies who joined in the "Silly Women" exhibition. At the same time they do not wish to make enemies of Lady Hailey and the European bureaucrats generally, because the European-Muslim alliance is necessary to both parties. So the very most they can do is to dissociate themselves from the "Muslim Outlook's" criticisms of one section—the reckless, fast, silly section—of European society and even this statement will not be accepted as genuine by the Muslim public because the Ministerialists will be constrained to add that since they have nothing to do with the affairs of non-Muslims they have not given a thought to the matter and therefore have no opinions to offer. But the mere fact that the men preserve *Purdah* in their own families while themselves meeting all sorts of Europeans and Indians socially,— good, bad and indifferent—shows clearly enough that they have chosen not in ignorance but after thought—especially as there are some among the Europeans who are sedulous in exhorting *Purdah* ladies to abandon their seclusion. Having regard to what we have said, we believe it would be more dignified if the Muslim Ministerialists preserved a calm silence. The "Muslim Outlook" has already

made it clear that they were not responsible for what we wrote and therefore any demands from outsiders of statements as to their personal opinions are inexcusable and an unjustifiable infringement upon their private affairs.

As for the intriguers against the solidarity of the Ministerialists, their cause is hopeless. The Muslims will not under any circumstances transfer the leadership in local politics from their elected representatives to persons who in their public and social activities greatly misrepresent the Muslims both as to political opinions and as to culture. And since the Government's alliance with the Muslim Ministerialists is necessary for the smooth working of the Reforms in the Punjab, we are certain that, after this exposure of the cunning intrigue against that alliance, the official world will discount such propaganda as has appeared and Lady Hailey will transfer her partizanship to less dangerous and misleading friends. The ladies who could not each keep a stiff upper lip in the presence of Pandit Nehru's shorn one did not save the Reforms and preserve tranquility in the Punjab. But men like Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sheikh Abdul Qadir did this good work,—and it is therefore impolitic of Her Excellency to allow herself to be made a catspaw of political intrigue and to be duped into embarrassing proven friends at the bidding of people whose silly pertness Lady Hailey cannot in her heart of hearts admire or even defend. But out of evil cometh good, and the people who have over-reached themselves in this sordid intrigue—who have even presumed to place Lady Hailey in a false position—may rest assured that one outcome of the whole affair is the establishment of a certainty that for many years to come no single Muslim Lady, outside one solitary family, will abandon *Purdah* in favour of what the "Sunday Times" in a queer expression of cringing mentality, describes as "steady social progress. So far as increased Muslim membership of the Cosmopolitan Club is concerned, we have killed that hybrid institution dead.

Editorial Comment,
Muslim Outlook
21st October, 1925.

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19. 45, Rajpore Road,
Delhi.
16th November 1925.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

There are a few things I just want to mention to you :-

(1) Shaikh Abdul Kadir takes his seat on the Committee on the 23rd instant. Does he remain a member of the Legislative Council and will he be able to attend the meeting on the 3rd December and take part in it ? What about the other meetings of this session ?

Mehr Shah's count takes place on the 23rd. I trust the result will not be declared till after the 3rd.

(2) I have been getting any number of letters about the High Court Judgeship etc. Now that the posts of the Government Advocate and the Assistant Legal Remembrancer have also been filled there is a great deal of dissatisfaction spreading fast and the dissatisfaction verging on despair, and that is a state of feeling which one cannot know what it may lead to.

(3) In the meantime, Iqbal has resigned his Fellowship of the University where he had worked for more than 15 years. For 10 years he was Dean of the Oriental Faculty and Chairman of the Oriental Board of Studies. I do not know whether it will be possible to persuade him to withdraw his resignation. But it appears the University has not lost any time in calling a meeting to elect his successor as Dean of the Oriental Faculty.

(4) I had sent you a cutting from the 'Statesman' as Syed Hasan Imam's letter. I have only recently come to know that this is some other Hasan Imam and that Syed Hasan Imam wrote to the press saying that the writer of this letter was not he but another Hasan Imam.

(5) Nawab Khuda Baksh has been returned unopposed by my constituency. I suppose he will have to sit in the Council now. When should he resign, so that I may get re-elected.

(6) Maqbul has lost his father. He had a great reputation for honesty. Maqbul has been quite grown up and steady for some time. If he is given something to do I believe he will do it well.

(7) Deputy Inspector General, Civil Hospitals, Punjab.

I got the case day before yesterday. They tell me that without referring to the Secretary of State it is possible for the local Government to create an appointment for a period of less than two years. This is an experiment. So don't you think for the present, action might be taken under this rule.

I reach Lahore on the 21st instant and the Hon'ble Member intends to take over the same day.

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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20. 2 Lytton Road, Lahore.
24th December 1925,
Hc/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

May I wish you a Happy Xmas, after a year of splendid success. The Punjab has during the year attained that prosperity, that efficiency, that progress the like of which is not to be found in the recent records of its history. I mean during the last twenty five years to my knowledge. May it continue to prosper under the ever vigilant care of your direction and control ; and may God grant you the continuance of that splendid health which enables you to put forth superhuman effort in the discharge of the duties of your exalted office.

I have to thank you for the innumerable acts of personal kindness, and sympathy, of official guidance and advice which have been most helpful and most welcome, and of great friendly interest. I have

deemed it a privilege to have the opportunity of working with one so richly endowed by Providence with all that makes a great and a popular administrator.

I remain
Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i- Husain

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21. 2 Lytton Road, Lahore.
1st January 1927,
HC/10

Dear Sir Malcolm,

In wishing you a Happy New Year, I feel I am wishing the Province a year loaded with success and prosperity. May success continue to attend upon your administration.

I wish to take this opportunity of thanking you for all the help you have so generously given me in running the work of department.

With best wishes,

Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i- Husain

Private

22. Lahore.
13th June 1927,
HC/10.

My[1] dear Sir Fazli,

Thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. The remark in my interview was based on the Statements which appeared in the 'Inqilab', 'Zamindar' and the Muslim Outlook of 17th, 18th, and 19th May 1927. I enclose the necessary cuttings from these papers. I hope you will read them carefully—especially those marked A, B,

1. Fazl-i- Husain forwarded this letter in original to the Punjab Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey with the following note :
The note and the letter are lying in HC/10.

and BC and the lines underlined by me. It is necessary to add that these Statements have not been contradicted by any Government officer up to the present moment. If you permit, I should be glad to send your letter to the press with my comments on it.

As to what is happening in Lahore, I wish you had been here to see things with your own eyes. It is sufficient to break ones heart and to shake ones faith in the impartiality of the State. I am collecting the necessary material which may one day be placed before the British Public. For the present we are discussing the idea of getting a hearing from the Governor. I can tell you of the latest incident in Gowal Mandi which is only short distance from my place. Three Muslims came to me yesterday afternoon when I was arranging the enclosed cuttings for you and reported in the presence of 3 gentlemen that a Muslim had been injured by a brick thrown from the top of a house and the Police were overawing him into making a different statement as to the house from which it had fallen. The D.C. reached the spot about the evening and I hope things are alright there. It is now perfectly clear that it is part of the Hindu programme to overawe Muslims by physical force, and thus to bring about a state of civil war in the country. It is a very serious situation ; I hope the Government realises it fully.

Thanking you

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

———

Revenue Member,
Punjab Government.
Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's letter is below.

What he says about the impartiality of the State is the view which is now-a-days held by the Punjab Muslims generally. I have followed the rise and the growth of the view, and at times have tried to check it but not with success. It involves a certain amount of bitterness and I do not like it.

Fazl-i-Husain,
H.E. 14/6/27

23. Fazl-i-Husain to Sir Malcolm Hailey,
[Note], 23rd June 1927,
HC/10.

H.E. discussed the matter of the Rangila Rasul case with his Ministers the other day, and arrived at the conclusion that the progress of the Vartman case be watched and hoped that it may enable Government either to get the judgement in question put right or supported by a Divisional or a Full Bench judgement, to take the case for legislation to the Government of India.

Since then a good deal has been written in the public press on this judgement and other matters connected with the judgement. Muslim feeling has become very acute. High Court contempt of Court trial and conviction and sentence has still further embittered the feelings ; and Resolutions are being passed all over the Punjab, and articles are being written in the papers, no less strong than the Muslim Outlook article which was the subject matter of the conviction. This is a cutting from the Tribune. Integrity of the High Court has suffered a good deal since the conviction, and feelings of dissatisfaction against Government continue to grow, and but for the fact that the Tribune and the Sikh Press has been criticising adversely H.E's pronouncements on the subject, Muslim agitation would have assumed anti-Government direction.

Can anything be done to put this matter right ? Vartman case may take long ; and it is contended that the law as interpreted by the High Court is defective according to the Hon'ble Judge, and wrong as contended by the Muslims. It is therefore urged that an ordinance be passed by the Government of India ..till, all doubts on the subject are dissipated. The matter is one on which feelings are always strong, and new side issues have made the position even more electric than before.

I venture to suggest that if the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court are of the view that the Single Judge judgement is sound and rightly interprets the law, then Punjab Government should at once send up its proposals for the law being amended and ask the Government of India to have this done in the next Assembly meeting, and pending

the passing of this legislation to promulgate an ordinance.

In case the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court advise to the contrary, then Punjab Government should ask the Government of India for an ordinance to run in force till we get this Judgement in the normal way—in the Vartman case.

I have ventured to write this note, though the subject is not one which falls within my portfolio, because I feel that more or less simple cases develop complications, and this one seems to me to be full of possibilities of troubles of all sorts.

Fazl-i-Husain
23/6/27

Tribune, Lahore.
23rd June, 1927.
"Muslim Outlook"
Contempt.

A correspondent writes to us as follows :

On the evening of Wednesday June 22, a Mohammadan drove through the Anarkali Bazar (Lahore) stopped at short distances and proclaiming by beat of a drum that the Mohammadans of Lahore would assemble in a big meeting outside the Delhi Gate to protest against the judgement delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kanwar Dalip Singh, whom the proclaimer described in grossly defamatory terms and to whom he imputed improper motives.

The proclaimer also protested that the High Court had unjustly committed to Jail persons who have expressed their dissatisfacton with the judgement of the Hon'ble Justice Dalip Singh. This proclamation was being made in an excited tone and as it closed a wandering crowd of the Muslim riff raff who gathered round the proclaimer greeted him with the violent article that are appearing in the Muslim press, the proclamation constitutes a clear challenge to the administration and the majesty of Law. Will the Government and the High Court take note of these rabid utterances ?

24. National Liberal Club, White-hall Palace, S.W.1. 18th August, 1927, HC/11.

Private

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I have been to India Office most of the members of the Secretary of State's Council are absent—ill or at home or out of London, and the odd ones who come to office might easily be mistaken for the unemployed. The permanent Under Secretary struck me as an industrious officer, and I understand he really runs the show. He enquired after you and your health, and asked if you were over-working yourself. I told him that was the view some of your admirers took, but that you repudiated all such observations and that from your persisting in hard work, it appeared that you could not be proved to be wrong. I talked to him about our Irrigation trouble relating to waterlogging, and our Land Revenue Bill.

He talked about the Rangila Rasul judgement which he said was good logic but bad common sense and that Vartman judgement has been satisfactory, but he was inclined to the view that amending legislation might still be passed, on the lines of the law of blasphemy here. It told him that you and Mr. Craik on going into the matter were finding the matter of this legislation far from easy, and it may lead to difficulties of all sorts which seem to be foreign to this seemingly simple legislation.

As regards the League of Nations, Mr. Croft is the one who hammers out things. There does not seem to be much going on, at present, but probably from next Monday, I will be kept occupied in perusing the literature relating to the agenda.

I also saw Sir Atul Chatterjee, and am going to his office to see the Stores Officer to understand how they deal with the indents for machinery sent to them by Local Government. Sir Atul also mentioned to me that Ross is visiting India again this year and would like to visit Punjab, if invited to do so and in that case would expect the grant of £ 100 or £ 200 given to his Institute and this he explained was not only because Punjab also suffers from malaria, but because it is a go-ahead province. I told him I will write to you, and let him know. I think if you approve of the idea, Firoz will have no difficulty in getting the grant. Capt. Malhotra I.M.S.,

Assistant D.P.H. is on leave here, and has been doing research work. He should work under Ross for two or three months and if we invited Ross to the Punjab, he would probably do Malhotra well, for it is not all charity. However, the matter rests with you. I am writing to Firoz, so that he may after consulting Forster mention the matter to you.

This is getting too long, so I better bring it to a close. Hope the Vartman judgment has put matters right and the resentment has died down. In that case it would perhaps be as well to close the account and let Abdur Rahman and the other fellow swell the ranks of the starving politicians waiting for subscriptions which do not materialise.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i-Husain

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25. National Liberal Club,
White-hall Place, S.W.1.
26th August, 1927
HC/11.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I had an awfully busy day yesterday, and I wanted to send you all the news, with the result that I sent none. This morning, I felt, I better carry out my intention, though the letter will have to wait for several days before it starts for India.

I have seen Lord Lytton and Sir Edward Chamier. Arrangements for division of work have been made, and files distributed.

I received an invitation from the World Population Conference which is to hold its meetings on the 31st August, 1, 2 and 3 Sept. I consulted the India Office people. They have given me the papers dealing with population problems read at the World's Economic Conference a few months back. So I am going to attend this Conference.

On my way to Geneva, I will stay for two days at Paris and see the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It is said that the Institute is intended to counteract the bitterness engendered by War. I thought it would be interesting to study their modes of work.

I was asked to visit the Shakespeare Hostel (run by YMCA) Gower Street wherein there are a large number of Punjabee students. It is situated suitably in educational quarter of the London University. It is being run economically, but the number of students is so large, their qualifications, subjects, circumstances so varied, so uncertain and the strength of the management so inadequate, that the institution can only serve to keep the Indian students segregated. It is probably true that they cannot derive all the advantage they should derive from their stay in England, but it prevents weak, poor, insufficiently equipped Indian students from being a nuisance, and to that extent is useful.

I visited Ross Institute the other day. It is well situated, but is of course in its infancy. Sir Ronald Ross is not well and Sir William Simpson is old in body, and it is Dr. Castellani who is running the Institute. It has great scope for doing useful work and it would be a good thing if some Local Government by turn decided to place one of their Public Health or Medical officers on duty at the Institute. Association with men of world-wide reputation gives marvellous results in bringing out the best in a man.

I have also visited the Qadiani Mission's mosque here. They were keen about the Rajpal acquittal, kirpan etc. I gave them the news of Vartman conviction, Assembly being in session and considering the question of legislation and that kirpan question was practically solved, as in 8 or 9 districts of the Punjab, sword had been made free.

I have been to see St. Thomas's Hospital. Three points impressed me :—

1. The general administration is in the hands of a Secretary who is a non-medical man and he really runs the show.

2. The nurse portion is the most important in the hospital, as administration is carried out through it. Attendance, feeding, clothing, etc. all are in the hands of the nurses. The Nurse is undoubtedly more important than the Doctor.

3. Private wards fee £ 1-1 a day is very moderate. It includes room, food, nursing and ordinary attendance and only operation fee has to be paid by the patient.

I have had a long talk with Sir Atul Chatterji. He says Punjab sends more students than any other province ; there are many Punjabee students studying engineering and medicine, all over the British Isles.

I leave London for Paris tomorrow and hope to be in Geneva by the next mail day. I wrote to the Lausanne University Professor whose address you gave me, some days ago, but have not heard from him yet. In case I don't hear from him here, I will go to Lausanne when I am in Geneva and look him up.

Yours most sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

———

26. Barnes Court,
Simla.
8th September, 1927.
HC/11.

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th of August. I was equally struck, when I went home, with the apparent lack of employment in the India Office ; I envied the men there, if I did not admire them. As for the friendly enquiries as to my health, I always repudiate the charge that I do too much work. I am afraid that I have habitually given the impression of working harder than is really the fact ; at all events, I succeed in getting plenty of short holidays and a good deal of sport, and claim to be physically fitter than most men of my time in the Commission !

As you will have seen, it was finally decided to take the opportunity of bringing in legislation in regard to scandalising religion, which would make it unnecessary to depend on the idiosyncrasies of Judges. The new clause is of course in general terms, as for my part, I found it quite impossible to frame any draft which would specifically penalise attacks on Prophets or holy personages ; for after all, this would again open the whole field to discussion whether such and such a personage was after all holy or religious. I notice that many of the Muslims object to a general clause of this nature, on the ground that it prevents criticism of what they call 'fables and superstitions.' I do not myself object to this ; it is always possible to criticise without being offensive, and I see no other way of preventing a repetition of the late attacks on the Prophet, because the "Vartman" judgment undoubtedly showed that there were still loopholes in the section.

I will put to the Minister the question of a grant to Ronald Ross if he visits the Punjab ; I only received Chatterjee's letter two days ago, and have not been able to decide the matter yet. I should personally like to see him in the Punjab.

As regards religious excitement generally, I fear that it has not really died down. Though we have no large meetings either in Lahore or Amritsar, we have a vast number of small ones, and they keep excitement alive ; we only just prevented a riot in Amritsar the other day. The danger of the situation lies in the fact that the agitation regarding boycott, is now being carried on in the villages, and if it spreads, it may have very dangerous consequences. For the moment, actual rioting is confined to other Provinces ; they had riots at Nagpur, Cawnpore and Bareilly within ten days of the publication by the leaders at Simla of a request for a calmer communal atmosphere!

Yours sincerely,
W. M. Hailey.

27. Barnes Court,
Simla.
6th October, 1927,
HC/11.

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Many thanks for your letters of the 26th and 7th. As I think I told you before, I have spoken to the Minister about the visit of Sir Ronald Ross, and this should be all right. I will send to the Chief Engineer the letter you forwarded to me about Mr. A. B. Malik and his payment of his debts.

I am very interested on what you tell me about the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the World Population Conference. I have just received some of the pamphlets issued at the latter ; they are rather highly technical, but I fancy they should be of considerable use to our Public Health men. I tried to follow what is going on at Geneva, but the reports we get are of course somewhat abbreviated. It must, in any case, be extraordinarily interesting to you.

You have no doubt heard from your friends here about the Muslim meeting at Simla, called mainly to deal with the question of the meeting place of the Muslim League, etc. Firoz Khan bestirred himself a good deal about this, and it was quite clear that the advocates of the joint Electorates were outnumbered. I fancy as a result that we shall certainly have a meeting at Lahore instead of at Madras ; the Madras Muslims are not at all anxious about the latter. The opposition to the Joint Electorate has received additional confirmation from the recent meetings of the U. P. League. It seems perfectly clear that for some time at least, the advocates of the Joint Electorate will be in the minority.

We hope to get through Dussehra without serious trouble anywhere, but feelings are of course in a great state of tension, and every effort is being made by the newspapers on both sides to keep this alive. The attack on Rajpal has not had any very serious effect so far, but I am half inclined to think that we are in danger of having

to face other outrages before long.

I should be very interested to hear what Dr. Michaud of Lausanne says to you when you at length manage to get him.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
W. M. Hailey

———

28. The National Liberal Club,
Whitehall Place.
WHITEHALL, S. W. 1.
17th October 1927,
HC/11.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I have been rather busy seeing people and things in this wonderful country.

I have seen the School of History and Oriental Studies, the School of Economics and Political Science, the King's College. I have also seen a few hospitals such as St. Thomas's and Guy's. I have looked into the matter of the training of the Nurses and the excellent feeding arrangements in the hospitals.

I have visited a few Public Health Institutions, seeing the propaganda work they do and the way they run their Child Welfare Centres.

Lord Winterton took me to Tillington to see the Ploughing, Milking, Hedging and Ditching Competitions and both Lord and Lady Winterton asked me to remember them to you and to wish you every success in your arduous work.

Various people however whom I have met here tell me that the

Punjab has done more in the way of improving Administration in general than any other Province in India and speak very highly of the Administration. This view, thus expressed, is not only given by people who have been in our own Province but also by those who come from other Provinces. In fact it is the latter who make a point of emphasising this.

I have availed myself of the opportunity of being here to discuss the matter of my Land Revenue Bill with Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Patrick Fagan and Sir John Maynard. I have some ideas but I doubt if they will amount to very much.

However, there will be something to discuss.

I hope to embark on the S. S. RAJPUTANA on November 4th at Marseilles and should reach Bombay on the 15th or 16th November.

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

29.

Revenue Member — 22nd November, 1927,
Punjab Government. — HC/11.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I got your note and the enclosed cutting after returning from you this morning.

I have marked four items separately, and if you kindly tell me which part or parts contain expressions which are likely to be somewha embarrassing to you, I will scrutinise them carefully to see whether they correctly represent what the interviewer was told, and let you know at once.

Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Malcolm Hailey's note on this letter :

Reply to my enquiry about summaries of interview about Statutory Commission in Indian Daily Herald."

(Cutting from) THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE
LAHORE 19th NOVEMBER, 1927

Sir Fazl-i-Husain Returns.
Views on Reforms Commission

Bombay, Nov. 18.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Member of the Punjab Executive Council, who arrived by to-day's mail boat, interviewed by the *Indian Daily Mail* observed that *Indian opinion* was likely to be very largely, if not entirely, in favour of strongly protesting against the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. As for the proposed association of Indians at a later stage of the Parliamentary enquiry, said Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, it really meant nothing as the vital part of the investigation was going to be in India. He thought there would remain nothing for the Commission to enquire into outside the records of the working of the Reforms, which would be duly placed before the Commission by the Government of India. Having regard to the nature and limitations of the enquiry, he failed to see the effectiveness or the implications of the proposed boycott.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain deplored the communal feeling and said he hoped it would disappear as suddenly as it had come. He was not inclined to attach very great importance to it, and did not believe there was any real substantial religious question over which there could be any continued communal warfare. He hoped Indian leaders of both communities would put their heads together for the cessation of hostilities throughout India, as a preliminary to a reasonable agreement on the points of difference between the two communities.—A.P.

(Cutting from) THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD
BOMBAY, 19th NOVEMBER, 1927

Muslims would lose Nothing by Bycotting Commission

Sir Fazl-i-Husain Thinks League should join Movement if Mahasbha joins it.

No salvation to India from Geneva admits Punjab Knight.

After an interesting interview with Hon'ble Sir Fazl-i-Husain, on board the Rajputana, a representative of the Herald brings with

him a delightful impression that the Punjab Member favours the boycott of the Simon Commission by the Muslim League provided the Hindu Mahasabha does likewise. The Lahore Knight, however, feels that the Commission can function without India's cooperation.

FAZLE HUSSEIN CONFERS WITH JINNAH

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazle-Husain, Member of the Punjab Executive Council, who had gone to Geneva as an Indian delegate to the League of Nations returned on Friday after a long and extensive tour of the Continent, by the S.S. Rajputana. Unlike Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and other Geneva pilgrims, the Punjab Member did not look hale and hearty

The first thing he did, on landing on the Indian shores, was to interview Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

In view of the fact that Sir Fazle-Husain is a member of the bureaucracy, it wouldn't be right to dabble into the "why" and "wherefore" of this apparently significant interview. His halting reply. "Well ! no ! I just had an interview," to the question, "Had it any bearing on India's attitude towards the Statutory Commission?" might therefore be swallowed with grace.

The Statutory Commission, the League of Nations, Miss Mayo's "Mother India," and the unfortunate misunderstandings about his regime as Education Minister of the Punjab forming its subject matter.

PUNJAB MEMBER'S FEAR

"What are your views about the composition of the Simon Commission ?" asked our representative.

"I learnt about it just on my way. I am afraid it will not satisfy a vast majority of the enlightened public."

"There is a strong and nation-wide move to boycott the Commission but you will perhaps be sorry to learn that the Punjab Muslim League under the guidance of Sir M. Shafi has expressed itself otherwise, although Sir Shafi in his public utterance on the subject had said :

"His Majesty's Government have, in my judgment, committed a grievous mistake in excluding Indian representatives from the Royal Commission.

An unfortunate decision has been taken by His Majesty's Government in regard to the constitution of the Royal Commission which is not likely to promote the welcome movement towards Indo-British co-operation."

"I CANNOT BELIEVE IT."

Sir Fazle Husain replied : "I am afraid you are under some misapprehension. If the statements you attribute to Sir Mohd. Shafi are really his own, I cannot believe that the Punjab Muslim League could speak in a different tone. Why, what reasons do they give for thus isolating themselves from the rest of the Indian Muslims ?"

The Herald man replied, "I think their fear is that if Muslims do not present their case before the Commission then judgment would go against them by default.

"But who is the plaintiff in the case ? If there is a plaintiff and if Muslims fail to defend themselves, their judgment would certainly go by default. Is there a plaintiff ?

"Probaly they apprehend that the Hindu Mahasabha would tender evidence before the Commission, and this they obviously fear would prejudice their own case," suggested the interviewer.

IF MAHA SABHA COOPERATES.

"Well if the Maha Sabha decides upon that course, and advocates say joint electorates, I would certainly ask Muslims to do likewise and insist on separate electorates. Only in that case will the attitude of the Punjab Muslim League be justified."

In this connection, Sir Fazle Husain commended the good work that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad was doing in London, and said, "He has been well received in the political and educational circles of England."

Reverting to the subject of the Royal Commission, our representative informed the Punjab Executive Councillor. That the Responsivist

leaders who formed the main prop of the Hindu Maha Sabha, were strictly in favour of complete boycott.

MUSLIM WOULD LOSE NOTHING BY BOYCOTT

"Well, in that case, the Punjab Muslims would lose nothing if they abide by the will of the majority. If further reforms are to be given at all, they shall be for the whole of India. It is impossible that one community would be given some concessions while the other deprived of the same. Whatever the result of the attitude that is taken up towards the Commission, it shall undoubtedly effect both the communities.

BOYCOTT WON'T EFFECT COMMISSION

As regards the utility or the futility of the boycott step ; all I know is that co-operation or non-cooperation with the Commission does not in practice mean much. Work of the Commission cannot be hampered if it is boycotted, for all the material and data that the Commission needs to examine and take into account can be fully available from Government records, blue books, annual Publications, legislative proceedings and such other sources. What further information is there that is needed for the purpose of the Commission and which will be withheld from it owing to the boycott movement ? In my opinion nothing. So if the British Government choose to remain abdurate, the boycott movement can hardly impede the work of the Simon Commission."

"Then do you mean to say that the Commission should not be boycotted ?"

"NO"

"No" retorted the Lahore Knight. "I don't say that either. All I want to impress is that it is idle to presume that a complete boycott would change the course of events in confirmity with Indian aspiration."

"What is your opinion about the scheme of the Joint Indian Committee ?" Questioned the Herlad representative.

SUPERFLUOUS, PURPOSELESS AND INERT

Sir Fazle Husain wanted to know what specific purpose it was meant to serve. On being told that it was supposed—in the Viceroy's own words—"to draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide," he by a series of questions and answers gave an impression to the Herald representative that he considers the proposed Committee as a superfluous, purposeless and inert body.

"If the Punjab Muslims seek your advice in this matter, as you go back, what would you tell them ?"

"SIT TIGHT"

"I would simply tell them 'Sit tight'. They are not being called upon to do anything now. Why should they bother at all, I don't see", replied the ex-leader of the Punjab Muslims, in a rather loud and excited tone.

Here ended the talk about the Statutory Commission and the impression that the interview left of the mind of the Herald reporter is that Sir Fazle Husain, is in favour of the Muslim League boycotting the Commission provided the Hindu Sabha does likewise.

Conversation then turned on the "League of Nations". Asked as to whether he did not resent a non-Indian always leading the Indian delegation to Geneva, Sir Fazle said he could not help it, even if he did.

PRINCES IN THE WAY

There were certain practical difficulties in an Indian leading the delegation deputation. The Princes, one of whom, would always be a member of the delegation, did not agree to be led by a British Indian statesman. They preferred to have an Englishman at the head of the delegation, if they themselves were not chosen to lead it. "Barring honourable exceptions, you know what sort of persons most of our princes are," he added. Under the present circumstances an Englishman leading the delegation was necessary evil.

Told, that inspite of the repeated declaration of Indian delegates returning from Geneva, Nationalist India had not yet been convinced of the usefullness of the League on behalf of India, Sir Fazle Husain observed that if nationalist India hoped that political salvation would come from Geneva, it was in the wrong. But some good might be expected out of India's participation in the League's activities towards ; social, sanitary and educational directions. The Singapore move, the Paris convention, the cocaine question etc. were as important for India as for any other country. Moreover it confers a certain status on India though it is a subject nation.

"There is a belief that India has been given that sham honour just to make her pay the piper."

"I don't think that consideration alone could have been the incentive in this because India's quota isn't very big after all.

"THE UNFORTUNATE BOOK"

Asked about his estimate of the mischief brought by Miss Mayo's "Mother India", Sir Fazle Husain angrily remarked, "That unfortunate book has sown the seed of racial antagonism. It is being widely read in Great Britain and on the Continent. The book contains inferences which are not borne out by the statements which she cites as facts and the few facts that the book contains are at least 50 or 100 years old. Considerable ground has been covered in India in the realm of social reform. Indians are fully alive to the work that remains to be done. We admit that we have social evils in our midst, partly indigenous and partly contracted due to our association with the west, but we hope to eradicate all of them."

"Would you like some one to reply to it ?"

"DISSECT IT".

"Never ! for a reply would mean a similar offensive campaign against the west, which could be more successfully launched. What I would like is that some one should dissect the contents of the book. It would be seen that Miss Mayo's facts are no facts at all and her inferences were all wrong."

In the end our representative requested the Punjab Member—to explain whether his regime as Minister of Education, had really been tainted with communalism, as was frequently alleged in the Hindu press.

FIGURES SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Sir Fazle Husain replied that, that false notion had been exploded on the floor of the legislature long ago. The complaint was that in making appointments Muslims were being unduly preferred. "I got all the relevent statistics published and circulated amongst the M.L.C's. and it was proved that during the term of my office the number of Hindus and Sikhs appointed in the Educational Department for exceeded that of the Muslims while in the Medical and Health departments, number of Hindu and Sikh appointments were 75 percent of the total. These are hard facts and ought to dispel all misunderstandings. Again, I have no reason to be unjust to our Hindu friends."

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30. Government House, Lahore,
24th November, 1927
HC/11

Dear Fazli-Husain,

A. & B. are of course the parts to which I allude. As it is the definite decision of the Cabinet to appoint a purely Parliamentary Commission, and as the Viceroy has justified this in a personal statement out here, I do not think it right for any one occupying an official position to emphasize the disappointment expressed at the decision. Nor do I think it right for any one in this position to suggest that the proposed association of Indians at a later stage of the enquiry "means nothing" That suggestion only lends an argument to those who advocate boycott.

My objection gains strength from the article contained in the "Indian National Herald" of the 19th November. Here you are

represented as saying that you considered that the Committee of the Legislatures would be superfluous, purposeless and inert ; these are not represented as your words, but as the impression you gave. You refused to condemn boycott though you did not think it would do any good. You thought that the support given to the Commission by the Punjab Muslim League would only be justified if the Hindus asked for Joint Electorates.

There are occasions on which, whatever one's views may be, it is not consistent with one's position to give expression to them, and I hope that you will be able to assure me that you were misrepresented by the interviewer.

31.

Revenue Member — 6th December 1927,

Punjab Government. — HC/11.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

A and B correctly represent what the interviewer was told by me.

I gather from your letter that A and B have been considered to constitute a breach of the duties and obligations I owed to His Majesty's Government. If this is the correct legal position, I beg to tender my resignation from my office.

I remain
Yours most faithfully
Fazl-i-Husain

(Cutting from) THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE,
LAHORE, 19th NOVEMBER, 1927.

Sir Fazl-I-Husain Returns

Views on Reforms Commission

Bombay, Nov. 18,

Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Member of the Punjab Executive Council, who arrived by to-day's mail boat, interviewed by the ***Indian Daily Mail*** observed that Indian opinion was likely to be very largely, if

not entirely, in favour of strongly protesting against the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. As for the proposed association of Indians at a later stage of the Parliamentary enquiry, said Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, it really meant nothing, as the vital part of the investigation was going to be in India. He thought there would remain nothing for the Commission to enquire into outside the records of the working of the Reforms, which would be duly placed before the Commission by the Government of India. Having regard to the nature and limitations of the enquiry, he failed to see the effectiveness or the implications of the proposed boycott.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain deplored the communal feeling and said he hoped it would disappear as suddenly as it had come. He was not inclined to attach very great importance to it, and did not believe there was any real substantial religious question over which there could be any continued communal warfare. He hoped Indian leaders of both communities would put their heads together for the cessation of hostilities throughout India, as a preliminary to a reasonable agreement on the points of difference between the two communities —A.P.

32.

Governor of Punjab. 7th December 1927,
HC/11.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Thank you for yesterday's letter about the interview you gave in Bombay.

I am sorry that you gave your views to the newspapers, for the reason I have already explained. But you have, I think, given my letter a more serious interpretation than I intended it to bear. I have felt it my duty to express my view, but it is undesirable that a member of an Executive Council should publish opinions which can be quoted by critics as contrary to those to which the Secretary of State and the Viceroy are committed ; but his action does not (at all

counts in this case) amount to that "breach of his duties and obligations" which would justify a Governor in feeling that he could no longer work with a colleague whose services he values and whose friendship he appreciates. I have no desire to pursue the matter, and I hope that it will suit your views, as it would certainly suit mine, that I should take no further action on your offer to resign your post.

Hailey

33.

8th December, 1927. HC/11.

Revenue Member,
Punjab Government.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

In view of what you have stated in your yesterday's letter, I agree that the matter does not proceed any further.

I am very much obliged to you for what you have said of me.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

34.

Government House, Lahore.
10th December, 1927. HC/11.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

This is the passage in Lord Lytton's letter to which I referred the other day. It was sent to me by His Excellency the Viceroy.

> "Sir Fazl-i-Husain was by common agreement the best Muhammadan representative that India has ever sent to Geneva. He mastered his subjects well, was very clear in his arguments and inetrvened several times—always with effect—in the Committee discussions. In a rather critical

discussion on the last day his speech enabled a satisfactory compromise to be reached and saved the situation."

I thought you might like to have a copy of this passage.

I am
Yours sincerely,
W.M. Hailey.

The Hon'able K.B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
Revenue Member of Council,
Punjab.

35.

Viceregal Lodge, Delhi,
8th February, 1928. HC/22.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I had a letter the other day from Lord Lytton saying that you had spoken to him about a need which you felt for some organisation in India to deal with certain aspects of the work of the League of Nations so far as it applied to internal problems. He sent me the gist of the Memorandum which you sent him dealing particularly with Public Health, Intellectual Co-operation and the Welfare of Women and Children.

I have been talking over your suggestions with Sir Muhammad Habibullah, and we agreed that there is great value in most of them, provided it is possible to act upon them. I think that the best way would be for you to discuss these questions with Sir Muhammad Habibullah the next time you come to Delhi and give him the opportunity of thinking them over in greater detail.

If you could ever do this, perhaps you would let him know.

Yours sincerely,
Irwin

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain Kt.,
Member of the Punjab Executive Council,
Lahore.

36.
Revenue Member, Punjab
Punjab Government,

22nd April, 1928. HC/12.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

Re Geneva—I fully appreciate that under the circumstances mentioned in H.E. the Viceroy's telegram there could be no vacancy of a delegate for me. Personally I attach no importance to the difference of status as in actual work there is hardly any distinction. The Indian public however is in such matters critical and inclined to read meanings into announcements of which they are quite innocent. This however could not have deterred me from accepting the office, but I find that I have been through nearly half the term of my office, but have not yet developed certain proposals relating to my departments which I wish thrashed out during your term of office. There is some work connected with the Royal Commission on Reforms, of an un-official nature, which it has been urged on me might suffer, if I took a pleasure trip to Europe. In view of these considerations, if H.E. the Viceroy will permit me, I would rather not go.

Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

37.

The Boundary, Silma E.
4th June, 1928, HC/12.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

May I most heartily and sincerely offer my congratulations on a recognition which was long overdue. It is difficult to conceive of services of a more distinguished nature than yours to deserve the title. May you long be spared to continue your career of great usefulness to the State.

I am laid up with one of my usual attacks of fever and so hasten to send this.

Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

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38. 30th July, 1928. HC/13.

Governor of Punjab,

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

I have received a message saying that an announcement will be made tomorrow that I am to take over the post of Governor of the U.P. Sir Geoffrey will succeed me here.

I am afraid that this means my going away at an early date. I cannot say how sorry I am not to be able to finish out my time in the Punjab, and I feel very much the parting with all my colleagues here. I shall part with you with very particular and special regret ; for I have always received from you the assistance and support of a loyal friend and if we have been able to do a good deal for the Punjab in the last four years, much of the credit must rightly go to you.

Yours sincerely,
W.H. Hailey

39.

Revenue Member, Kufri, 31st July, 1928. HC/13.

Punjab Government,

Dear Sir Malcolm,

I am very pleased indeed to have it confirmed that you are going to U.P. and that Sir Geoffrey succeeds you, for I know of no civilian better fitted than yourself to take up the heavy responsibilities of U.P., or than Sir Geoffrey to be Governor of the Punjab especially during the coming times.

It is very kind of you to speak in words of appreciation of my work during the period you were Governor. It has been a pleasure to serve under you and I cannot sufficiently thank you for your many acts of kindness and friendship.

You are leaving us earlier than we were entitled to keep you, but as you will be next door to us, and you are leaving Sir Geoffrey in your place, we will not grumble and wish you every success in your new charge.

Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

40.

Governor of the United Provinces

25th August, 1928.
HC/13.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Sir Geoffrey tells me that you have had a short stay at Kasauli and are looking better as the result. I do hope that you are really improved in health and have effectively shaken off your old enemy. You know how sincerely concerned I am for your health.

I wish I could have a talk with you about the Nehru report. It is of course very obvious that it has an immediate bearing both on the position of the Mussalmans here and on that of the landowners. We may regard it as only a dream of the future, but it has at all events shown both of them where they would stand if the Swarajists and Nationalists' ideals could be translated into action. From this point of view it is an advantage, for it presents their ideas in a concrete form. In the U.P. we should probably have twelve or fifteen million voters, mainly tenants, so that the landlords would be ousted from general constituencies and at the same time reserved seats would disappear. As for the Mussalmans, they would be far worse off than at present. I am afraid that I have already been guilty of impressing these facts on both parties, for the prospect of both seems very serious and it would be somewhat of a tragedy if they fell in the error of giving lip-service to a scheme like that now presented merely on the ground that it appears to present a liberal constitution for India.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
W.M. Hailey.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Kt.,
Member of the Executive Council,
Punjab.

41.

Simla E,
28th August, 1928.
HC/13.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

Thanks very much for your kind enquiries. I am much better now. I may say almost normal for the Simla season.

I have seen the Nehru Report, but I have not yet completed its careful study. I agree with you that lip loyalty to it would be a mistake. In matters like this it is best to be frank. On the whole I think it will not secure general support. We will probably be able to hammer out some sort of reasonable programme on which Muslim India will be able more or less to arrive at an agreement. It is true that dissenters amongst Muslims are stealing a march over their community, but I believe before long the general Muslim view will assert itself and it will have to be admitted that Indian Muslims do not support the report as embodying a constitution fit for introduction in 1930.

I am going down to Lahore on the 30th to pay visits to Sheikhupura, Jaranwala, Gojra, Jhang and Chiniot. Akali activity in the Bar is on the increase and ideas as to further remissions of land revenue, extinction of land revenue on small holdings, guaranteeing *mogas* and distributaries against alterations and so on are being spread broadcast. I wish to get into touch with the movement personally.

I am reserving *ghoripal* affair for October.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

H.E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,
Governor of the United Provinces,

Naini Tal.

42.

Governor of the United Provinces.

7th September, 1928.
HC/13.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Many thanks for your letter. I am particularly glad to hear that you are feeling better now.

As regards your reference to the Nehru Committee's Report there is one matter which is seriously troubling me and in which I should be very grateful if you could help me. It has been assumed, perhaps quite honestly, in many quarters that the Muslims of the Punjab have actually accepted the compromise arrived at on the subject of separate representation. I notice that the Leader today claims that since no protest has been made, this must be accepted as their decision. I know of course that Dr. Alam and Zafar Ali have claimed that they represent the majority of the Muslims on this point, but I have never of course attached the slightest importance to any claim put forward by them.

I should be very grateful if you could send me a line saying what the facts of the case are; for I find that many U.P. Muslims here are in doubt as to their own position and seem to be waiting for a lead from the Punjab Muslims. I would of course, if you so desired, keep confidential anything you may tell me.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
W.M. Hailey.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Kt.,
Member of the Executive Council, Punjab.

43.

Simla E,
22nd September, 1928.
HC/13.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

Yours of the 15th instant.

I was so pleased to see that the U.P. Council acted wisely in electing a—Committee. The Punjab members have prepared a draft[1] which, after revision, will be signed by all the elected Muslims on the Central and Local Legislatures and local bodies.

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1. The following proposals represent the views of the Punjab Muslims as to the next stage of political advance in the Punjab and in India. They are supported by the overwhelming majority of elected Muslim members of the Legislative Council, of district boards and municipal committees and of small town committees and *Punchayats*.

I Provincial

1. Franchise

The ideal is adult franchise, but the next step is *substantial* widening of the existing franchise on the following lines :

(*i*) Urban ownership conditions to be lowered from Rs. 4,000/- to Rs. 2,000/-.

Urban tenant's condition to be reduced from Rs. 96/- rent *per annum* to Rs. 72/- rent *per annum*.

(*ii*) Rural ownership condition—Rs. 25/- land revenue to be reduced to Rs. 10/- land revenue. Agricultural tenant's condition to be introduced, with the condition that the land of which he is in occupation is of the value of land which pays roughly Rs. 12/- as land revenue.

2. Constituencies

(*i*) Distinction between urban and rural constituencies be maintained and towns or *abadis* with population of 5,000 and above be included in urban constituencies whose number in view of this addition may be increased.

(*ii*) Separate electorates for Muslims be maintained. Joint electorates are the ideal, but at this stage they are most likely to create friction between Muslims and non-Muslims and lead to disorder. Earmarked seats in view of the

You are quite right as to these diplomatic negotiations intended to hoodwink others. The Nehru Report is nothing else but a make-belief. and flashes the Indian autonomy before the applauding Swarajists, while it takes no account of the real India which lives in the provinces and has its hopes, aspirations, difficulties and troubles. what does the Imperialist in charge of the Indian Empire care how the constituent provinces with their parochial interests get on. He is after the big game. The mere trifles of duck shooting or fishing have no attraction for him.

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voting strength of the majority community being less than of others cannot be acceptable.

(*iii*) 'Special interest' constituencies. These should disappear, but in case they are retained, their number be raised from 7 to 9, one being added to the land-owners' constituency to make 4 territorially separate constituencies and the second for urban labour constituency.

(*iv*) European and Indian Christian representation. Whether they would like to be represented as such or take their chance in general non-Muslim constituencies it should be left to them to decide. In case they decide upon separate electorates we are prepared to support them.

(*v*) Sikhs. Whether they should retain their separate electorates or take their chance in general non-Muslim constituencies should be left for them to decide.

3. *Council*

(*i*) Its total strength be raised from 93 to 125.

(*ii*) There should be no official members with a right to vote, but not more than 12 official members may be nominated to have a right of speech.

(*iii*) There should be no nominated non-officials.

(*iv*) If 'special interest' constituencies are done away with, then of the 125 constituencies there should be 63 Muslim constituencies, i.e., constituencies with Muslim voters. In case 'special interest' constituencies are retained, then of the 9 constituencies reserved for them there are only 3 in which Muslim preponderate, and therefore of the 116 general constituencies 60 should be Muslim constituencies.

(*v*) Every voter, irrespective of his community, should be eligible for election in all the 125 constituencies.

4. *Local Government*

Local Government should enjoy provincial autonomy, i.e.,

Yes, Zafar Ali and Co. find in Syed Habib quite a handful. It is interesting as well as amusing to watch their squabbles. Syed Habib professes conversion by conviction. I am not sure whether he is likely to convince you, but I have an open mind.

(*i*) All the present reserved departments should be transferred on the same terms on which the present transferred departments were transferred under the Act of 1919.

(*ii*) Local Government should be representative of and responsible to the local Legislature—there should be no Members, but all Ministers elected from amongst the members of the Legislature except that the Governor will be from outside the Legislature.

(*iii*) The Cabinet will be constituted by the Chief Minister subject to the approval of Governor and shall be jointly responsible.

5. (*a*) That *vis-a-vis* the Central Government, Provincial authority should be absolute except where expressly limited by Statute.

(*b*) The revenues and property allocated by Parliament to a Provincial Government should be secured to it by Statute.

6. *Services*

Indianisation should proceed as heretofore, and the position of all-India Services in the reserved departments would be the same as of those in the transferred departments, except that in the case of I.C.S. and I.P. recruitment should continue to be done, as at present, by the Secretary of State, but control should vest in the Provincial Government which shall establish a Public Service Commission.

II Other Local Legislatures

1. The present proportion of Muslims and separate electorates be maintained except that in the case of Bengal, in pursuance of the understanding which existed at the time when the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was agreed upon, the proportion of Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Council be raised from 40 to 50.
2. Frontier Province be given a reformed constitution.
3. Sindh be converted into an independent province, and in the case of these two new provinces financial adjustment be made in such a way as to permit of their developing their resources.

III Central Government & Legislatures

1. *Central Legislatures.* Muslim proportion and mode of representation be left as at present.
2. In order to develop provincial autonomy as quickly as possible it is necessary that the introduction of responsibility in the

We all miss you terribly here with Assembly in sessions and such a lot of political scandal to talk about and discuss. It is very generally said that the Opposition in the Assembly simply sweep the board and both sides, Government and Opposition, recognise that if you were to revert to your Home Membership things from Government point of view would not be so gloomy as they are at present. Can you be in more places than one at a time ?

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

———

44.

Simla,
27th September, 1928.

Dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 25th inst.

The view I take of the matter is this : A capable Punjab Muslim is needed badly in the High Court. The responsible authorities have repeatedly expressed the view that this need should be met, and, as you are aware, you have been believed to be the man to meet this need that appointment will be a permanent one, and long one. You are young, and if you are not to go to the High Court and in view of the death of the Hoshiarpur Sheikh, it will be open to the authorities to say that a man of outstanding merit from the Muslim Bar, well-versed in Civil Law, is not forthcoming. Again, political career in India is more uncertain than in England, and in England too, a politician, relying upon Cabinet rank as a means of livelihood, cannot rely upon it more than half the period of his political career. In the Punjab, members feel that unless there is rival candidate, they do not get any kudos for supporting the other candidate ; and their

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Central Government take place at a stage subsequent to the establishment of autonomy in the provinces so that the federation of autonomous provinces may eventually give rise to an autonomous India.

desire to set up a rival candidate cannot, therefore, always be taken as a guarantee of their continued support. In your position, keeping in view your own good, with due regard to the High Court aspect of it, I should stick to that course and use your position in public life in a way as not to prejudice that prospect. When you see H. E., if questioned, I see no reason why you should not, frankly and in a straightforward manner, tell him what I have mentioned above, and then say that you are prepared to leave yourself in his hands after having given him what struck you to be the pros and cons of the problem.

As to the non-personal aspect of the problem, in case H. E. consults you, you will be justified in emphasising—

(1) that the Muslim Minister's charge should include Education as one of the subjects. This involves redistribution of portfolios, which, on the whole, is not a bad thing.

(2) that your party feel that the Ministry should be constituted from amongst them ; and if that be impossible, in order to secure representation of Hindus and Sikhs, the men selected should be such as to command the confidence of that party. Applying these tests, if there are to be two non-Muslims in the Ministry, your party would suggest Chhotu Ram and Harbak Singh to be the ministers. In case that is impossible, then the non-Muslim part of the Ministry should include at least one of them, and that in case neither of them is to be included in the Ministry, your party would, on the whole, be definitely opposed to that part of the Ministry, and that the present non-Muslim Ministry will excite much greater opposition than any other that can be formed.

I will try to send a note to you about the Simon Report.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

45. Viceregal Lodge, Delhi,
1st November, 1929.
HC/23.

(Confidential).

My dear Sir Fazl-i,

I stupidly forgot, when we finished our Council Meeting yesterday, that I should not have the pleasure of seeing you again, and therefore did not take that opportunity of wishing you good-bye and of thanking you very much for the help you have given us during the last months. Please forgive me. I shall much look forward to being able to renew our relations in the future, at a time which is bound to be difficult for us all and when your counsel will be particularly helpful.

I will discuss confidentially with Habibullah, as soon as he returns, the question that I discussed confidentially with you as to the *pros* and *cons* of inviting him to carry on somewhat beyond his allotted term, having regard to the possible advantages of utilising the special knowledge he will have acquired in his London conversations on the East African question, and will hope, as you said you would leave yourself in my hands about this, to write to you definitely at an early date.

Meanwhile, I shall be very grateful if you can give me the benefit of your advice upon the points which we were discussing yesterday in relation to the future composition of the Conference in London.

Thanking you again,

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
Irwin.

46.

Viceregal Lodge, Delhi,
1st November, 1929.
HC/23.

My dear Sir Fazl-i,

It was very good of you to write and let me have your views on the coming Conference, which are most helpful. The matter is full of

difficulties and we shall all have to put our heads together and work out a procedure which will give the Conference the best chance of success.

Though, like 'you, I see evident objections to a system of nomination, or, as I should prefer to call it, invitation, there seem to me no less clear objections to leaving everything to the risk of election. Your scheme proposes a combination of the two, but I am not quite clear how you visualise the actual working of your scheme for election (paragraph 4 of your note). Do you contemplate that each individual legislature should elect its representatives separately, or that they should act as a single constituent body ? If the former plan is in your mind, would you not be likely to get a certain amount of overlapping, and disproportionate representation of particular interests ? How, for instance, in this way would you ensure representation of landowners, or would you propose that organisations, e. g., Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Landholders, etc., should also be invited to elect representatives ?

As regards the date of the Conference you do not discuss the possibility of the Conferenc meeting in England in time to let people return to India in time for elections in November. The time-table of procedure after publication of the Report may of course make this impossible, but I think there may be just a chance of the Conference starting, say, in the late summer. If this were practicable, what would be your view about it ?

Or is it conceivably possible that we might have elections in April and thus leave our hands more free as regards the date of the Conference. I agree with you that the elections must precede the Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Irwin.

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47. The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.
23rd March, 1930. HC/24.

My dear Sir Fazl-i,

I have received Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency's letter saying that you would be willing to go to Geneva if I so desired, but that for private reasons and for reasons of health you would have preferred, on the whole, not to go to Europe this year. I should be very sorry to think that I was causing you serious inconvenience, but the Secretary of State lays great emphasis—as indeed I do myself—on the advisability of sending a Member of my Council on this occasion when a Prince is leadiug for the first time, especially as Sir Muhammad Habibullah led the Delegation last year and a Prince went as second Delegate. As His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is to lead the Delegation, it is necessary that if a Member of my Council is to go, he should be a Muslim, and you have the additional qualification of having been before.

I have therefore telegraphed to the Secretary of State that, although for private reasons you would have preferred to stay in India, you have been good enough to place yourself at our disposal for this purpose. I hope that things may turn out so as not to cause you any very great inconvenience.

Yours sincerely,
Irwin

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K. C. I. E., Kt., Member Punjab Executive Council.

48. 4, Montgomery Road
Lahore.
15th April, 1930.

Dear Mian Sahib.

Your letter to the President, Council of Regency, Bahawalpur, was dated the 10th January 1917 and the resolution of the Council of Regency waiving their claim to the property was passed on the 14th March 1917. The actual wording of the resolution is as follows :

"With reference to your letter of the 10th January 1917. I have the honour to say that the Council of Regency in their meeting of the 14th March 1917 have decided that they should waive their claim for the property which you are going to buy."

Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan's letter to you was apparently dated 27th May 1928 as your answer to that letter which is dated 1st June 1928 gives the 27th of May as the date of Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan's letter. Your reply of the 1st June 1928 runs as follows :

"Dear Sikandar Hayat-yours of the——. Please convey my thanks to His highness Nawab of Bahawalpur for endrosing—the Council of Regency that you——as the decision of the Council of Regency was arrived at on my letter wherin I remember having placed the whole position before the Council, hardly any further assurance is needed. If that question were to have recurred today. I would adopt the very course I adopted then."

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain.

I hope all of you reached Simla safely and that you are now in a much better state of health than you enjoyed during your recent visit to Lahore.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely
Zafrullah Khan.

49. 56, Mirzapore St., Calcutta.
10th May, 1930.

Dear[1] Fazl-i-Hussain,

It is extremely good of you to take the trouble to write to me in the midst of your heavy duties. Your letter of 7th May just received on the morning of the Id is doubly welcome as it has served to a certain extent to revive my drooping and dejected spirits. It is true that friends in England and India from whom I have heard since its publication, have expressed their appreciation of my Note and I am glad to learn from your letter that it has been received with great delight by Muslim India and that you consider it worth persuing by anyone who wishes to understand Indian politics. As the heart of Muslim India throbs in the Punjab, I deem the appreciation and congratulation of one of its noblest sons ample reward and compensation for all the trouble I have to put up with in connection with the publication of the Note which took me only three days to produce—though foodless and sleepless days.

I enclose an extract from a letter written to Mr. Azizuddin of Datia which will give you an insight into the state of my mind just at present. The extent of sacrifice by co-operation with the Simon Commission is neither realised nor appreciated by the Local Government or the Government of India. I have lost heavily by it. The Punjab Government never for a moment allowed itself to forget to reward the services of Sir Abdul Qadir in 1919. But the Government of India seems to have quickly forgotten the services of the members of the Indian Central Committee. We are now treated as untouchables and political lepers and there is a prolonged quest for doubtful friends and new allies who are to be placated at our expense and cajoled to attend the Round Table Conference. Mr. Yakub, the Boycotter of the Simon Commission, is now to be backed for the Presidentship of the Assembly and some one, than myself is to be selected for the Round Table Conference, for I have not as yet expiated sufficiently for the

1. See Letter 51.

crime of having been a member of the Indian Central Committee, I can quite understand that as a Committee the Committee cannot claim to be invited, but what passes my understanding is why an individual member of outstanding position in his own community should lose his case for having been a member of the Committee? Why should a man whose "Note is worth perusing by anyone who wishes to understand Indian politics and which has been received with great delight by Muslim India", should be treated as an untouchable and an outcaste by Government and his faithful services to his community and Government alike be ignored? When friends of Government have nothing to hope for and enemies nothing to fear but much to gain, no wonder that the Voice of the majority of the supporters of law and order is Silence. I have many important suggestions to make regarding the present situation and what is happening in our part of the world. But to whom to make the suggestions? There is no Ronaldshay who used to consult me on every important affair. There is not even a Lytton to whom I had free access. The Viceroy is too far away and your friend, the Proud Beggar, is too proud to thrust his views and opinions, unsought and unsolicited, on people who may not care for them.

Wishing you a happy and prosperous Id,

I am,
Yours Sincerely,
A. Suhrawardy

The Sarda Act is being utilized and Muslim religious feeling exploited in Eastern Bengal to arouse fanaticism and enlist it on the side of Gandhism.

Extract from a letter written to Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad of Datia :

"Every word of what you say is true. You truly voice the sentiments and feelings of those who, having stood by Government for example, during the Simon Commission's visit to India when things looked black, find themselves to-day dropped like hot potatoes and treated by Government as untouchables and political lepers in their anxiety to placate those who had boycotted the Commission and now wish to be invited to the Round

Table Conference. You have summed up the situation in one sentence and fathomed the psychology of the Silence of most of us when you say that Government "Can only rally them by firmness and by making clear that those who support authority today will not be thrown to the wolves tomorrow."

The Honble Sir Fazl-i- Husain K.C.I.E
Member, Executive Council,
The Retreat,
Simla.

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50. The Ittehad, Patna.
12th May, 1930.

My [1]dear Sir Fazli Hussain,

Thank you very much for the inquiry you have made in your letter which I received only yesterday on my return from a long tour in Bihar and United Provinces.

Since I left Delhi on April 3rd, all my time has been spent in visiting important Muslim centres where I had been explaining the hidden meaning of the present civil disobedience movement, in a few places in meetings both of Hindus and Muslims, in some places in big meetings of Musalmans and in most cases by holding conferences of leading men of the locality.

What I have gathered is that Musalmans harbour very bitter memories of what the Mahasabhites have been doing to them during the last 6 years and that no amount of persuation by anybody at present would rouse them to work shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus. Even the resolution of Jamiatul-Ulema, Bihar and Orissa passed at Darbhanga on 22nd March 1930 asking the Musalmans to join hands with the Congress in the civil disobedience movement did not produce any effect on the masses. The recent decision of Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind at Amroha on 5th May has not yet made any impres-

1. See Letter 54.

sion on the Musalmans. The thinking people openly say that the Jamiatul-Ulema has dug its own grave by favouring joint action with the Congress at present.

But what they ask me is this. "Do you expect anything from the Government which would help the Musalmans to live as an honourable community in India ?" "Had you had any gesture from them till now ? I have to say to them that I cannot lay my finger on any such thing at present and I do not expect anything from the Government unless we organize ourselves in the modern sense of the term.

The Hindu leaders are feeling the void in the Muslim mind and trying to placate them in many ways. During this Bakr-Id, for example, notices after notices have been issued by the Hindu leaders not to give any cause to the Musalmans in their performance of sacrifice to complain of their Hindu neighbours Even in election in Local Self-Government which is going on in this province the Hindu leaders are propitiating the Musalmans. In short the tendency of trying strength with the Muslims is giving place to palliating measures. Thus the future of the Musalmans is very interesting. How devoutly I wish that those amongst us who command wealth could at this juncture help the Musalmans in organizing press and paper of the first order both in English and Urdu. This is the crying need of the community at the present juncture.

I have done my bit in this province by starting a press and paper called The Ittehad, in Urdu, to begin with, which is doing wonderfully good work in this province. I have today asked the Manager to send you regularly The Ittehad published by us.

It is very sad commentary on the wisdom of Government of India that the most appropriate move of the Round Table Conference has gone to oblivion. Whenever we talk of it, people get excited over our credulity. I am indeed extremely sorry for the good soul of Lord Irwin. The poor Viceroy's efforts are not going to bring the fruit that was expected of it sometime before. The English people have been beaten, it seems, on their own ground. The Hindu India has

madc such a vigorous propaganda against it that the sincerest voice of the Viceroy is going to be drowned.

The All India Muslim Conference will hold its sitting some 3 weeks after the publication of the Simon Report. The President and the place have not been decided upon. I have been authorized to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference for decision on these two points. Lucknow has sent an invitation to us through Raja of Salempur. It would be great relief to me if I could know even most confidentially the probable date of the Simon Report's publication.

The letter has grown too long, I reserve the rest till I hear from you in reply.

With the great regard,

I am ever yours,
Md. Shafee Daoodi

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51. Viceregal Lodge, Simla.
15th May, 1930.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain

His Excellency asks me to thank you very much for your letter of 14th May enclosing letters from Suhrawardy[1], etc which I return. His Excellency read them with great interest. He wishes me to ask you whether you think it would be possible in your reply to Suhrawardy to say that you have mentioned his letter to His Excellency, who was greatly distressed to hear that Suhrawardy seemed to feel that he had been unfairly treated in some way. Do you know what is really in his mind ? and if not, would it be possible to elicit this in your letter to him ?

Yours Sincerely
G· Cunningham

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K.C.I.E., Kt.

1, See Letter 49.

52. The Retreat, Simla.
15th May, 1930.

Dear Abdulla,

Yours of the 7th May giving a spicy estimate of the local legislators. It was not only interesting but also instructive.

Your second one of the 10th has made me a little bit sad. You know you can always count upon my doing everything that lies in my power to promote any scheme or matter which I may feel is for your good. What I wrote to you about your note was, I trust, an accurate representation of my estimate of Muslim public opinion about it. Circumstances in the past have been such as not to bring that amount of success to your efforts which you deserved, and as an admirer and friend of yours it will be my effort to help ; but, my dear Abdulla, you must not permit disappointment in the past to spoil your beautiful nature, for there can hardly be a greater tragedy than a noble spirit embittered by failing to achieve the success it deserved. I know His Excellency the Viceroy thinks well of you, and you should develop optimism not only with reference to your own career but also in the matter of the future of your community. Muslim India has seen, during the last ten years, steadily making progress, if not in every part of India, still, in many parts of India ; and I feel confident that if a balance-sheet is made of the whole of India, the progress of Muslim India will, therein, be found quite marked. It is up to you, and to me, and to every other Indian that the speed of progress should be further accelerated till Muslims occupy in the advancement of India the share to which they are entitled, and thereby promote the cause of India's progress towards self-realisation and independence.

I remain,

Yours Sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

53. The Retreat, Simla.
15 May, 1930.

My dear Yaqub,

Thanks for yours of the 10th.

The Jamiat Resolution will cut no ice. What I am very much concerned about is for Muslims to do something constructive for themselves and for their country. At present they are watching the game more or less between the Hindu politician on the one hand and the Government on the other. Active Muslim politicians now and then exhort them not to join the civil disobedience movement ; but, after all, this is a negative lead. The present demands something much more constructive —better organization, greater effort, and, locally, schemes of development and uplift. We must get on, otherwise we will be left behind.

Kidwai is an awfully nice man, a very genuine man ; and however emotional at times he may be and however anxious to get on, I feel pretty confident that his desire to serve Islam is greater than his desire to serve himself. In fact, I have a great deal of regard for him, and in a matter like that, I do not think Kidwai is the one to create a split.

The great thing now is the appearance of the Simon Report and the action that the All Parties Muslim Conference will take thereon.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours Sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain

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54. Viceregal Lodge, Simla.
16th May, 1930.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain

Thank you very much for your letter of 15th May. I have shown Shafee Daoodi's[1] letters to His Excellency. He presumes that

1. See letter 50.

the part in his recent statement regarding the minority communities will to a certain extent reassure any Muslims who had begun to feel doubts of the intentions of His Majesty's Government.

Yours sincerely
G. Cunnigham

The Hon'ble
Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., Kt.

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55. Naini Tal, 18th May, 1930.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

It is fortunate that you are now in the "Indian Cabinet" when selections for the Round Table Confernce are going to be made. If you agree to the Muslim demands as put forward by the All-India Muslim Conference held at Delhi under the presidentship of H.H. the Aga Khan then please see to it that the mistake is not made in selecting Muslims which was made in the case of the Sankaran Committee when Raja (I may say here to remove any misunderstanding that personally Nawab Ali and myself are as relatives and brothers) Nawab Ali Khan was selected. He is a lieutenant of the Maharaja of Muhmudabad and is now creating another mischief by making the question of electorates a Sunni v. Shia question. Fortunately the Raja of Salempur who himself is a Shia has snubbed Raja Nawab Ali and people of his way of thinking in his presidential address delivered at Muzzafarnagar in the annual session of the U.P. Muslim Conference.

The Raja of Salempur has also been instrumental in making the Viceroy's recent declaration as he asked His Excellency to make a declaration of the security of the already acquired interests of the minorities when the new constitution is framed. In his letter he sent with his address and received a very favourable reply. My reading of the situation is that there will be at least eight Muslims (they might be ten) for the R.T.C. and the names will be probably as follows :—

(1) Aga Khan.

(2) Jinnah.

(3) Muhammad Ali.

(4) Sir Abdul Qayum.

(5) Sir Shafi (or somebody else from the Punjab if he is occupied in the Imperial Conference).

(6) Ghaznavi.

(7) Raja of Salempur (if it is meant to counteract Nawab Ali v. Mahmudabad of this Province) and

(8) Fazal Rahimtollah.

There is a talk here in responsible quarters that either Mahmudabad or Sir Ali Imam or both will be included. If they are it will be fatal from the point of the Muslim community as we who believe in mixed electorates or in civil disobedience etc. do not at present represent the Muslim nation in India. I, like Mahmudabad and Sir Ali Imam, believe that Muslims should not remain aloof from the present war but this can only be our personal view. The Round Table Conference should not be made a place to express any personal views. I at least feel bound to respect the solidarity of Muslims and it is therefore that I do not urge any personal convictions or views nor aspire to have a place in the Conference. Surely from Oudh the Raja of Salempur should be represented. The fact is that after H.H. the Aga Khan no person in India has spent so much money for the cause of the All-India Muslim Conference as Raja Ahmad Ali Khan of Salempur has. He has organised the whole Province. This work is appreciated even by the Governor of the Province who expressed his great approval of his Muzaffarnagar address.

My personal position is this that I feel concerned in my mind that it will be impossible for the Hindus to tyrannize over the Muslims if there is complete independence but I do not blame the Muslim community if it does not share my convictions and feels nervous by the aggressive attitude adopted by the majority. I myself have noticed that all the Hindu leaders *withaut exception* have acquired a

communal outlook and as I believe that if minority goes wrong or is aggressive it cannot do any severe harm either to the majority community or to the national cause but if the majority is aggressive or prejudiced it can destroy the minority and can do immense injury to the national cause. I excuse the nervousness on the part of the minority and I am with it in urging upon the majority to win its confidence. Therefore I have not dissociated myself from the All-India All-parties Musllm Conference and it is therefore that I am writing to you this letter to help the All-India Muslim Conference. The demands of the Muslim Conference are fair and can do no harm to the national cause if accepted. Why then they should not be accepted ? They can be accepted if India gets independenee and if the Hindus were sincere in their desire for independence they would have accepted those without fuss.

Yours very sincerely
as always,
Mushir Hussain Kidwai

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56. Simla.
19th May, 1930.

My dear Shafee Daoodi,

I am very glad to see that you have been exerting yourself enthusiastically in doing your duty by your community. I realise the force of your argument that no community can afford to have a negative programme. Well, a positive programme is the constructive programme, and however old the idea my be, nation-building activities—educational and economic —are by far the most which go to elevate the masses economically and intellectually.

I am very glad to hear that you have laid the foundation of the Vernacular Press in Bihar. This is a real good service, and I hope and trust the paper will flourish. I am trying to acquaint myself with the condition of our community in various parts of India and, some

parts, where there is trouble, are receiving my closest study and attention.

Well, the Simon Commission's Report will be out soon enough and you should gird up your loins to examine it carefully and then formulate your views on it.

With best wishes.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

57.

Member of Council for Education, Health & Lands, India.

Simla,
20th May, 1930.
HC/18.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

His Excellency discussed the matter of the personnel of the Round Table Conference yesterday and mentioned your views on the subject and suggested my writing to you about it.

The Muslim point of view is that the number of Muslims is important enough, but the views and the ability of those Muslims are far more important. They should be representative in the sense that they are acceptable to their respective provinces and to India as a whole, and at the same time they should be, if not all, at least some of them, particularly well-fitted to take an intelligent and effective part in the actual deliberations. When we are told that the decisions, or the effect of discussions, will go not by the counting of votes but by arguments adduced, the importance of selecting those who can put their case clearly, cogently and effectively is very great ; and, as you are aware, there are not very many in the Indian political life who know, and really know, the subject. Further, it should be remembered that the case has to be put not in a friendly, private conversation between two individuals, or even in a small Council or

1. A copy of this letter is also available in the Fazl-i-Husain papers.

Committee of 5 or 6, but that the discussion will be in a large gathering in which the vast majority of people will be strangers ; and, therefore, the need for clear thinking and for clear expression and for a mastery of the subject is very great indeed. Now, it is obvious that men like Sapru, Chintamani, the Madras people and the Bombay people will probably be equal to the task. On the Muslim side, we have Shafi, and Zafrullah from the Punjab is likely to be an effective member ; but it cannot be said that other Muslim members holding Muslim India's views come up to the same standard. As I mentioned to you, I have had opportunities of coming across Dr. Shafaat Ahmad. In 1927, he was in London, and had several talks with various members of the Labour Party, and discussed with them those problems. So, I feel that he is better equipped than most of the Muslims His Excellency has in mind for this particular work. I am not unmindful of his shortcomings. He is inclined to push an argument too far aud thereby sometimes spoil it ; that the constitutional safeguards have been on his brain probably too much, but in London, in the sort of gathering there will be at the Round Table Conference, I believe he will be more useful to his Muslim colleagues in collecting bits of information from various quarters and thus enabling his colleagues to be put in a position to formulate their own views. He is, of course, raw yet, but I do not see any others distinctly better than he is for this work. In Bihar, there are Sir Sultan Ahmad and Shafee Daoodi. The former has never studied politics and has devoted himself entirely to educational work, and the latter has a good representative capacity but will not be able to put his views before the Round Table Conference. Jinnah and Ibrahim Rahimtoola are good men, but the latter is getting rather old. Bengal is not likely to contribute any one as good as Shafaat Ahmad and, on the whole, I feel that the Muslim group as a whole will be weak in talking capacity at a Round Table Conference and in getting about socially and talking politically to various people if it has not the assistance of Shafaat Ahmad or two or three men like him. Again, no one knows better than yourself that the press representatives will be at the elbows of all these people at the Round Table

Conference, and the public estimate of the Muslim representatives will be the estimate that some enterprising interviewer gives to the British public of them. Don's you think, in that respect too, Shafaat Ahmad will be useful to his colleagues ? I suppose Maharaja Sahib will have to be there, but, then, will he be representing the Talukdars ? And even so, will he be able to talk at the Round Table Conference or will he content himself with nodding ? Again, frankly, I do not like the idea of Jinnah doing all the talking and of course there being no one strong-minded enough to make a protest in case Jinnah starts upon expressing his views when those views are not acceptable to the Indian Muslims. I want some one who would frankly say that it is not the Indian Muslim view. It is a difficult thing to say that and an unpleasant one, and the higher the position of a representative, the more difficult it is for him to say so in a Conference. I believe Shafaat Ahmad and Zafrullah will not hesitate, while Shafi's repudiation may be attributed to rivalry.

So far about the Round Table Conference. The Indian situation is just now confusing and the game is not making much progress one way or the other. Probably, the active political workers are not making the headway. But at the same time it cannot be said that they are losing ground. Government has brought into use a number of arms from its reserve armoury, and I feel a little doubtful whether the additional arms have definitely succeeded in achieving the subject they were intended to serve.

I want so much to have a talk with you, and yet with my wretched health, I had better not go rushing about, but content myself with writing to you. That may, perhaps, clear my own ideas. Now take the case of Press Ordinance. A large number of extremist papers have ceased to exist. We wanted not to kill the papers but to kill the evil effect in the minds of the people that is generated by the extremist papers. Don't you think that the Indian mass mind is already so made just now that in the absence of news, it is ready to listen to rumours and believe them, and thus the evil is done to a greater extent than even the extremist papers can achieve ? Mind you, I have no regard whatsoever for the extremist papers, but I am trying

to examine whether so far as the effect on the mass mind is concerned —the absence of extremist papers and the presence of rumours which are so readily acceptable to the mass mind,—we have really gained anything, and all the time here as well as in England the outcry is raised—no expression of free opinion and the press is gagged. As soon as the worst papers are stopped or brought under security, don't you think it would be best to let others live till any one of them is hopelessly bad ? Again, I do not visualise the stages which not only these civil disobedience movements expire but give place to restoration of mutual confidence and trust and goodwill. I do not think even if we added two or three more arms to our armoury in use, the desired result can be achieved. It is the old, old story, but there seems to me to be no other way except organising the saner elements of society ; and in view of the Round Table Conference and the legislation which will follow it, there is hardly an Indian in public life who feels that he will not be doing wrong if he checked these movements which are intended to demonstrate to the authorities in India and in England that there is a very large and insistent demand for a very large political advance. That is my reading of the Liberals' last set of resolutions.

With best wishes.

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain

58.
Private

The Retreat, Simla.
24th May, 1930.

Dear Kidwai,

Yours of the 18th inst.

This is strictly in keeping with your motto "Al Haq" and in a way, it afforded me satisfaction inasmuch as in giving my estimate of your personality, I mentioned that you were for principles and had

the capacity to rise above personalities and in the interests of Islam would be prepared to sacrifice yourselves if necessity arose. I will certainly bear in mind what you have said.

We are passing through very strange times, and I cannot help feeling that those who wish that India should rule herself have not started the right way in bringing about chaos, not with the object of expelling the foreign Government, but with the object of bringing pressure to bear upon it. These movements which frankly, are for expelling a strong foreign Government, in case they succeed in their objective, should have at hand a strong organised Government to take the place of the one which they are expelling and, to that extent, assure the maintenance of peace and good order ; while the present policy of the Indian leaders seems to me not only subversive of the peace and order in the present, but, what is more open to objection, it renders the establishment of peace and good order in the future more difficult than it has been in the past, or even in the present.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain

59.

Governor's Camp,
United Provinces,
24th May, 1930. HC/18

My Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Your letter of the 20th May about Muslim representation at the London Conference. I quite agree with a good deal of what you say, but I had better give you the exact reason why I made my particular recommendation to His Excellency the Viceroy. I think we have two functions in regard to the Conference. In the first place, we have to endeavour to satisfy communities, such as the Muslims, that they will not only get a good hearing but will be represented by people in whom they have confidence. However brilliant the advocates who went there, it is really just as important that we should convey the maximum of satisfaction at this end in the character of the represen-

tatives chosen, and if we fail to do so, we rob the Conference of one great element of success. Our second function is of course to see that points of view are actually put as clearly and emphatically as possible before the Conference. It was with the view of getting the maximum of confidence from people in this part of the world that I suggested some one of the type of the Nawab of Chhitari, who undoubtedly would carry that confidence. The U.P. Muslims will certainly feel that their side of the case will be inadequately, or shall I say, not represented with sufficient weight, if the U.P. delegates were Mahmudabad and Shafaat Ahmad. Now as regards the latter I am quite clear that the majority of local Muslims would attach greater value to Hafiz Hidayat Hussain ; for Shafaat Ahmad, with all his qualities of industry and keenness in debate, does not as yet command among them the same all round support in point of character. But if some one of the type of the Nawab of Chhitari were to go, then I would withdraw my preference for Hidayat Hussain and support the claims of Shafaat Ahmad who, I know, would be useful to Shafi and also form a somewhat effective counteraction to Jinnah. I quite admit that from the point of debate he would be better than Hidayat Husain.

I am afraid I do not see eye to eye with you as regards the operation of the Press Ordinance, at all events in regard to the U.P. I forget how many papers there are in this province altogether, but they are certainly very numerous ; and so far the security sections have only been applied to three or at the outside four. There are certainly plenty left which can distribute news to the public, and the latter cannot seriously feel that it has been deprived in any measure of its extremist organs. We invariably begin by warning even the worst papers and some of them take the warning and decide to carry on. Others at once tell us that they will not alter their policy and we have to ask security from them. On the whole I rather doubt whether the general public can be feeling that the Press Ordinance so far has robbed it of any of its amenities or conveniences.

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1. A copy of this letter is also available in the Fazl-i-Husain Paprs,

I should like to emphasize my own point of view in regard to the agitation generally. One is not out to suppress nationalist feeling or even to drive Congress off the field. Whatever the political changes, we are going to have in the future a number of periodic agitations of this kind. I would deal with this one purely on its merits, that is to say, recognizing that a programme of civil disobedience is an actual danger to the State, I would attempt to disorganize and break it up by any such means as would not afterwards recoil on our own heads. But one's primary object is gradually to recreate a condition of things in which excitement will die down and affairs again become normal. In the normal state of affairs there is a very wide scope for expression of opinion against Government and on behalf of all kinds of constitutional advance. One does not interfere with those expressions of opinion ; even an occasional rise of excitement is left to take its course. Liberal, nationalist and even extremist opinion has then quite adequate scope. If in such normal times there is any measure of repression at all, it is, at all events in a province such as this, confined entirely to people who definitely and openly advocate voilence or the use of the bomb. I forget the number of political prosecutions in the two years preceding the present outburst of agitation, but they were entirely negligible. I should be quite prepared myself to withdraw any exceptional measure as soon as I saw that tempers were showing a tendency to return to the normal ; I should not like to do anything which would interrupt this process.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Malcolm Hailey.

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., Kt.,
Member of Council for Education, Etc., Simla.

60. Simla,
29th May, 1930.
HC/18.

Dear[1] Sir Malcolm,

Thanks very much for yours of the 24th.

Chhatari and Shafaat Ahmad will do very nicely. But I do not know what Chhatari's programme is. I believe his term of office expires next January, and he may be thinking of resigning before the elections to get returned to the local Legislature. However, that is a separate matter.

I have been revolving in my mind the various aspects of the present agitation and the measures taken to meet it. *The* action taken against the agitation consists in press control, vigorous prosecutions of political workers in support of civil disobedience, whether under the Sedition Law or under other laws ; and in one way or another, a very large number of political workers of the first and the second line have been put into jail. I understand that there is a vast amount of anti-British feeling spreading amongst the people ; the display of discontent is not on the decrease, and the anti-British feeling also is not subsiding, but is becoming very acute. The problem to solve is to check the increase of this feeling, hoping that gradually it will disappear, and also securing the gradual decrease of display of discontent, & c. Can this be achieved by large number of prosecutions and imprisonment ? For, after all, the object of declaring unlawfull various institutions can only be to get at men to be able to put them away. None of these measures by themselves can be of much use. I feel very doubtful whether the Administration can gain very much by pursuing the orthodox policy of press control, vigorous prosecutions of political workers, and similar actions. I believe time is a very great factor in meeting such political crises, and further that counter attraction is of very great value. At present, almost every Indian believes that if he is courageous enough to join the disobedience-walla, he is contributing to the eventual success of the struggle between India on the one hand and the British on the other. If he is not courageous, then he should be neutral and simply watch,

1. A copy of this letter is also available in the Fazl-i-Husain Papers.

in his heart of hearts being for the disobedience-walla. This explains the sliding of the Liberals from the position they took up last November. Don't you think efforts should be directed towards re-organizing parties which would work for *swadeshi*, stamping out drink establishing Panchayets or Boards of Arbitration, intensifying efforts at beneficent activities, and strongly supporting the freedom of the individual in the matter of exercising his profession and of persuasion to be exercised in favour of *deshi* or prohibition to be directed towards the individual citizen and not the vendor of the badeshi or liquor. Further, efforts be made at establishing cottage industries, and thus occupying people who are naturally restless and possessed of fitful energy, and thus create a diversion in political thought as well as in the matter of outward expression of discontent and dis-satisfaction. I recognise that no amount of declaration on the part of the Viceroy or the Secretary of State can do any good. The country is not ready to think calmly over the difficult political problems awaiting, if not solution, at all events, decision. But I do believe a great deal can be done with a positive programme of work. What I have in mind are not the old Aman Sabhas or the Loyalty Leagues : they will not do ; and I do not think it is impossible, still in public life, with a certain amount of effort, to organize a good, liberal, strong, nationalistic movement of uplift, to which the masses will come if vigorous efforts are made in that direction.

Holding these views as I do, I feel that both in the administration of press ordinance and other measures in those provinces wherein vigorous action has already been taken, it would be as well to call a halt, and administer these measures leniently, say, for a period of a fortnight or so, and try what I call the positive programme. No one knows better than you how difficult it is to bring about a genuine change of heart and how hopeless it is to administer a province or a country, with any satisfaction to yourself and to the people, when the mass mind is poisoned and takes a distorted view of administrative actions. No reforms, however generous, can take the place of an appreciative, or, at all events, unprejudiced mass mind.

I am writing to you like this, because I know you will not think us as faddist for ten years in office during troubled times cannot leave

much of faddism in one. I do hope when you are in Simla next July you will not full up your time to such an extent as not to leave room for a talk with us.

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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61. Simla,
1st June, 1930.

I have heard from more than one source that, in some places, recourse has been had to certain measures in dealing with women *jathas* or processions. The two courses adopted, according to my informant, are : (1) setting goondas or semi-goondas to harass them, and (2) setting prostitutes to harass them. This has created a certain amount of resentment in the minds of moderate and pro-Government people.

I have myself thought over the matter, and feel that it is unwise to have recourse to either of these methods It is obviously wrong on the part of the civil-disobedience-wallas to use women for this purpose, and although the initial responsibility for this lies on them, the Government should not permit the use of the above-mentioned two methods or similar ones, as they do not succeed in preventing women from going into *jathas* but they do create resentment in the minds of the pro-Government people.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

To the Governor of the Punjab.

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62. Governor's Camp,
United Provinces,
1st June, 1930,
HC/18.

[1]My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th May ; I fear that I am not quite fit enough to reply at any length, but I give you such ideas as come immediately to my mind.

1. A copy of this letter is also available in the Fazl i-Husain papers.

I agree with you that the present agitation has again brought to the surface a vast amount of anti-British feeling, particularly in the towns ; and although the agitation has not as yet got any strong hold on rural areas, yet I cannot myself feel that there is any sign of decline of feeling in the towns. In fact the atmosphere is such that tempers may very easily get frayed and we may have trouble anywhere. But when you ask whether discontent can be reduced by prosecutions and imprisonment then you are, I think, looking at the thing from an entirely different point of view than myself. We are bound to have these recurrent waves of feeling from time to time. The present agitation has no definite objective, because though of course people talk of independence, they certainly do not mean it or understand it or expect to attain it. But they do feel that more trouble they can create, the more they can render Government unpopular, the stronger the racial feeling they can arouse, the more likely are they to get something out of any settlement which may ultimately be arrived at. It is not to their interest to let the matter go. Faced with an agitation of this kind, all we can do is to attempt to disorganize it and prevent it assuming a really dangerous shape, such as movement against payment of land revenue or rent. Our prosecutions under the Salt Act, etc., are not an attempt to crush nationalism or to curb racial feeling or anything of the kind. They are a very necessary step to prevent the organization of Congress becoming so strong that they may make administration impossible. All we seek to do is to disorganize opposition and hold on long enough to allow this rising wave of excitement to die down as it has done before and as it is bound to do again.

You suggest that the right remedy is to intensify efforts on beneficent activities ; establishing cottage industries, stamping out drink etc. ; and thus to create a diversion in political thought. You would call a halt for a fortnight or so and try the positive programme. My answer is that you cannot in a fortnight, or a month, or six months, or a year, affect the kind of change in mentality that you suggest. The creation of cottage industries and the stamping out of drink and measures of that kind are matters of slow development which demand

some kind of change also in the mentality of the people themselves. Take for instance the Punjab. I doubt if there is any province in which more genuine effort has been made during recent years to elicit general mass goodwill by promotion of beneficent measures. But the Punjab politician pure and simple does not care for these things. At the moment he seeks to get the maximum of constitutional change and he hopes to do so by causing the maximum of embarrassment to the administration. The only halt that he will understand is one which would put him in practically complete control of the situation.

I am,
Yours sincerely.
W.H. Hailey.

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain K-C-I-E, Kt,
Simla.

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63. Simla
5th June, 1930.
HC/18.

[1]Dear Sir Malcolm,

Thanks awfully for yours of the 1st.

I am very much concerned about your health, for I always associated with you a state of health which is free from all such human frailties as indisposition or being unwell.

I agree with you that this is not the time to establish Industries. What I meant was that those who were prepared to dissociate themselves form the civil disobedience movement could not really form themselves into an organized body of opinion unless they had a programme, and that the programme that one could think of, under the existing circumstances, was Swadeshi, prohibition, Panchayets and Boards of Arbitration ; and that, in this connection, the propaganda to be done was for the establishment of Cottage Industries against drink and specially against illicit distillation, and for

1. A copy of this letter is also available in the Fazl-i-Husain papers.

the establishment of Panchayets, Co-operative Societies, Arbitration Societies, &c. ; and that with this programme it should be possible for those who are against the disobedience movement to collect a fair gathering in support of their programme. This will be done in the near future in the Punjab, and I can think of no other programme with which the people seeking election may go to rural areas and, for the matter of that, to urban areas. They can also add to it provincial autonomy and dominion status. But, then, neither of them really is intelligible to the average rural voter or, for the matter of that, to the urban voter.

I entirely agree with you that the real objective is to prevent the civil disobedience movement gaining ground. How is this to be done ? Arrest, prosecution, and imprisonment is one way of doing it. Dealing a blow at its finances is the real way of taking it ; but, apparently, our not being in possession of knowledge as to the whereabouts of the funds, this measure evidently cannot be carried into effect. The third way is to have a programme of your own, to which you can ask the people to join. During periods of upheaval of political thought, efforts made at disorganising opposition cannot succeed unless a rival organization exists to which the people can be asked to attach themselves. As you very rightly observe, a great deal has been done by you in the Punjab, and the result is that the movement is the weakest in that Province.

There are so many months yet between now and amendment of the Act and the introduction of new Reforms. One wonders whether the movement will be kept alive all this time. This is unnatural and contrary to my theory on the subject. Such movements cannot be killed but they can be, I believe, controlled with vigilance, tact and good luck.

May I venture to urge upon you the need for sparing yourself when you are not well, and not put too great a strain on your health. A number of Punjab people are here, and those who heard that you were not well were most anxious to know how you were feeling ; and I need hardly add that they were all very much concerned, and wanted to give expression to their feelings of great sympathy and were for sending some one to see for himself how you really were. This is but

natural in view of all that you have done for the Province and the kindness you have invariably shown to us all.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Your most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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64. Simla,
9th July, 1930.

Gujranwala seems to be developing into a civil disobedience centre of activity. I believe the movement is, for the present, confined to the Gujranwala town. Don't you think it would be worth while mobilizing the rural forces to make a good counter-demonstration in opposition to the civil disobedience movement ? I do not know what sort of officers there are at Gujranwala nowadays, but I think either the Commissioner or the Revenue Member should go there, hold some sort of function, invite the representatives of rural areas, and thus demonstrate that the forces in support of Government are far larger and more considerable than those which support civil disobedience movement. The Commissioner, Muhammed Hayat, has been Deputy Commissioner there, and I believe the country-side treat him as a friend.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

To the Governor of the Punjab.

65.
(To a Sikh)

22nd August, 1930.

Dear Sir,

Permit me to congratulate you on your contribution "The need of cultural unity" which appeared in the May Number of the "Khalsa Review". This is the line on which the foundations of enlightened nationalism of the future can be laid. The confusion of ideas and the slavish mentality which worships catch-words, it is much to be regretted, adversely affect the Indian thought, and it is of the utmost importance that every one should strive to counteract them. I have

often thought that the great mission of Sikhism in the 16th Century was to bring about that cultural unity which needs the ground-work of absolute toleration and readiness to appreciate good wherever found. Later, it appears that circumstanes proved too much, and tended to give the movement a sectarian colour. There was the extreme conservative Hinduism dealing with the movement as it had dealt with Budhism in the past and practically reduced it to a sect of Hinduism. There was a reaction against this, brining into being the Purists of Sikhism (like the reform in the school of Wahabis amongst Muslims).

I have ventured to put down what is my reading of the history and as I have but a casual acquaintance with history, I should not be understood to dogmatize about it.

I remain,
Yours truly,
Fazl-i-Husain.

66.

Simla,
25th August, 1930.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

You have no doubt seen Pears' telegram No. 57-L dated the 19th of August in which he refers to something that he said at a Conference here at which you and I were both present. As you know, frontier telegrams have of late been full of reference to Khilafatists and their mischievous activities on both sides of the border which appear to be indistinguishable from those of the Congress. If you could throw any light on the attitude of the Central Khilafat Committee towards such activities, I should be extremelly grateful and would be glad to discuss the whole matter with you, if convenient, at any time that you may appoint.

Your sincerely,
E. B. Howell

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian
Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., Kt.,
Member of Council,
Simla.

67. Simla,

26th August, 1930.

Dear Howell,

Yours of the 25th.

The references to Khilafatists are, I believe, not founded on facts. I am afraid the political officers are talking of Congress men and Khilafatists as synonymous terms. To-day's telegram from Kohat talks of expulsion of Congress men. What I should like to know is—if they are getting rid of the Khilafatists and Congress men, why don't they hand them over to us ? Then we will be in a position to decide who these people are—Congress men, or Khilaftists or nobodies. I do not believe the Central Khilafat Committee has anything to do with these activities. I shall be glad to see you tomorrow at 10 o'clock at my house if it is convenient to you.

Your sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

E. B. Howell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary (Foreign),
Foreign & Political Department.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am afraied I cannot manage 10 A.M. tomorrow or Thursday, but I could come at 10 A.M. on Friday if convenient.

Yours sincerely,

E. B. Howell.

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68. Simla,

1st September, 1930.

Dear Cunningham,

Thanks very much for sending me Maharaja Mahmudabad's letter to Sapru. I should not have thought the Maharajah Sahib could go so far as to make such an allegation. You remember I sent you a letter from the Honorary General Secretary, All-India Shiah Conference, of which Institution the Maharajah Sahib is the President, saying : "Although on account of the influence of Raja Nawab Ali Sahib and, indirectly, of Mahmudabad, we have said that we want joint electorates, but I as General Secretary of the All-India Shiah Conference am in deep sympathy with separate electorates." He

further observes : "Sir Ali Imam and Hasan Imam have been joining the Hindus for the sake of cheap popularity."

As a matter of fact, recently the Congress people have made strenuous efforts to employ some Mussalmans as volunteers, and got them to agree to be arrested for civil disobedience movement as a reply to the Goverment letters to the Secretary of State which are made public every week stating that the Muslims have kept apart from the civil disobedience movement.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

G. Cunningham, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S.,
Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy,
Simla.

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64. Madras,
12th Sepetember, 1930.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am glad to inform you that I have been elected to the Assembly by the Madras City Constituency. My party men have come in very large numbers both in the local Council and in the Assembly and I hope we shall be able to have a strong progressive party in the Assembly.

2. I may be forgiven if I venture to bring to your notice a matter on which I should like to bespeak your sympathy and attention. The question of nomination to the Legislative Assembly and to the Council of State will, I believe, be considered very shortly by His Excellency the Viceroy. In connection with representatives of this Province, I would like very humbly to suggest that the name of Rao Bahadur P. Ranganatham Chetti may be considered either for the Legislative Assembly or for the Council of State. He is a Councillor of the Corporation of Madras for the last 9 years and is a very respected member of a powerful community in this Province called the Vysia community, which corresponds to what is know in Northern Provinces as the Bania community. This community forms the chief mercantile classes in this Province. They have not been able to

secure representation either by nomination or by election to the Central Legislature all these 9 years. In these days of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, they are to a certain extent attracted to such movements particularly because the leader is a Bania. The gentleman, whose name I am suggesting, has been thoroughly loyal and has done tremendous service in the city and in the muffasil to check the extremism of men of his community and to wean them away from deleterious influences. He has recently been given the title of Rao Bahadur. He is about 50 years of age and is held in high esteem both by the public and the local Government. He has good organising powers and in fact is the chief whip of my party in the Corporation of Madras. I am sanguine that either in the Assembly or in the Council of State, he will be thoroughly loyal to Government and will be a source of great strength in organising support. I shall feel highly grateful if you can have his name considered in the ensuing nomination to either Chambers of the Central Legislature.

Yours sincerely,
A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.

P. S.

The caste suffix 'Chetti' is entirely different from that of either Mr. R. K. Shunmugam Chetty or Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetti. The one belongs to the oil-monger community and the other to the Balija Naidu community.

To
The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Kt.,
Bar-at-law,
Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council, SIMLA.

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70. Amrauti,
14th September, 1930.

Personal & Confiidential

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

You will please excuse my taking the liberty of writing to you on the strength of the acquaintance I had the good fortune of

making with you during my visit to Simla, as a Minister in charge of Medical Department for C.P. towards the end of June last.

I have since resigned because of some local reasons and am touring in the Province ; this is my apology for the paper used, which I hope you will not mind.

I write to you to point out what we in this part consider to be an important deficiency in the list of invitation to the Round Table Conference. As I did not know anyone else as well as I claim to know you, I decided to make bold to write this.

The list as it is published is fairly representative and satisfactory under the circumstances. If this had been final I should not have troubled you at all ; but there still seems to be a scope for a few additions and I hope they are to be made to supply the deficiencies if pointed out.

The deficiency to my mind is that no representative of the Marathas or indeed the backward classes from Maharastra and C. P. and Berar finds a place amongst the invitees. The person who may be said to come nearest is Mr. Kambli, but he belongs to Karnatac and is a Singayat. Marathas are an important community here and together with allied communities from backward classes ; their omission therefore implies that most of those who have a stake in the country in these parts are neglected.

Besides this Berar has a considerable interest in the C. P. administration and Beraris claim with a great deal of justification that but for the Revenues of Berar, C. P. as a Province would be bankrupt.

I am writing this to point out the defect and trust you would do something—if at all possible at this late stage—to remedy it. As a champion of backward classes I do not think I can expect anyone else except your good self to give your attention to this matter.

I have sent this letter for your personal information which you may use as you may be pleased to do. But I should not like this letter to be referred to C. P. Government. I do not wish to appear as if I am

applying for an invitation for myself as such things do not do a political and a public man any good nor do they do him credit.

If I had been invited in the ordinary course I should have been only too glad to go ; since this has not happened I would not apply for it. This is my position. I have explained it to avoid misunderstanding, but as I felt it my duty to point out a glaring defect in the list, I could not help pointing out to a person, whom I thought I could do so in the full confidence.

I am afraid I have taken more liberty than I am entitled to do and yet I feel confident that you will not mind my doing so.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. M. Deshmukh.

71.

Personal & Private

Geneva,
26th September, 1930.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I apologise for not having written earlier. I had not much to say, and the uncertainties that attend the service of an Indian Prince never, so far, offered me the opportunity. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner left for Paris last night, and so I am more master of my time today.

Nothing exciting occurred in London nor, officially, has anything of interest transpired in Geneva since the Assembly session started. I did, however, profit by Hertzog's presence in Geneva during the first week of our stay to talk to him informally about outstanding questions in South Africa that interest us. As you know, the Secretary of State accepted our suggestion that such conversations should take place, only he made this conditional upon our associating his office in them. That means associating Sir Louis Kershaw who, if I am any judge of men and manners at all, is not in the least likely to impress a man like Hertzog favourably. Moreover, I don't see why if we can freely conduct negotiations with South Africa

from India, the mere transfer of venue to London should reduce or restrict that freedom. I put this point to Ram Chandra in a letter that I wrote to him a fortnight ago. But realising the delicacy of the Viceroy protesting against the Secretary of State's decision on such grounds, I thought that it would be useful if I did not commit the Government of India in any way to talk to Hertzog before we found ourselves in London. The result was not unsatisfactory. I was able to discover that as regards the Asiatic Tenure Bill, he is willing to give those who have acquired interests since 1919, protection, and to confine the more drastic provisions of the measure to those who offend against the Gold Law in future. He also told me that this was really Dr. Malan's own wish. That being so, I should say that judicious pleading on the part of our Agent should help to achieve our objective. One thing, however, must be avoided : viz any suggestion that the Union Government were being guilty of a breach of faith in putting forward such a measure. It may or may not be true but the South African nationalists are very sensitive, and react strangely to the unpleasant truth. So far as I could make out, the obstacle to a satisfactory compromise seemed to be the unanimity of the Select Committee's report—a fact which is bound to be made much of by the Anti-Asiatics. But if the Agent tells the Minister that this measure, if enacted without the modifications suggested by us, will render the chances of the assisted emigration scheme hopeless, he might, probably provide the lever which the Minister of the Interior wants to bring the fire-eaters to his side.

Hertzog attaches great importance

(a) to our inviting Dr. Malan to India.

(b) to our doing everything possible to induce Mr. Groebler, who is going to India for the opening of New Delhi, to take a friendly view of Indians.

H.E. has agreed to (a) and I suggest that the Agent be authorised to suggest that such a visit should take place in the autumn of 1931. As regards (b) I hope that H.E. and you will be able to show special

attention to Mr. Groebler and to impress him duly with the grandeur of India.

This has already become a long letter, and as the Air Mail is due to leave in another half hour, I shall stop now. I hope that you have completely got over your recent illness, and that the release from a routine of daily meetings of the Executive Council will enable you to take some rest.

Yours sincerely,
G.S. Bajpai.

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72. Camp Narkanda,
2nd October, 1930.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 30th ult. from Simla.

I had heard that Zafrullah Khan was being advised by some to declare himself a candidate for Ministership. He naturally must have considered the pros and cons of the matter. Ministery is a game of chance, and no one can expect to remain in office continuously, and, at the best, a politician who has dedicated his life to politics can expect to be in office for not more than half the time. As he is likely to be the next Judge (which is a permanent post lasting up to 60 years of age), it is quite possible that he may not have felt much attracted by the suggestion made to him. I have just sent you a telegram saying: "Act discreetly. See Zafrullah direct for frank talk". You must have reached Lahore on the 1st and my telegram will reach you shortly, so that you have had only 24 hours wherein to explore possibilities. If Zafrullah does not ask for Ministry, then naturally this effort against you will fail. If, on the other hand, he decides to offer himself (and you cannot blame him if he thinks it is to his advantage to do so), then, to my mind, what is important is to see what support definitely you have and what support definitely he has, and who are the men who are likely to be indifferent.

Those likely to be for you are : Abdul Ghani (Sargoda), Pir Husain (Amritsar), Fazl Ali (Gujrat), Qureshi Md. Hayat, Muzaffar Khan (Mianwali), Md. Amin, Nur Khan. Nur Ahmad

(Montgomery), Haybat Khan, Raza Shah, Maqdum Md. Husain (Muzaffargarh), Jamal Khan, Khwaja Md. Yousaf, Yasin Khan, Imam Din, Abdul Rahman, Riasat Ali, Jagdeo Khan (Lyallpur).

Those likely to be for Zafrullah Khan will, probably, be : Pir Akbar Ali, Chaudhuri Shahabuddin, Sarferaz Ali Khan. Malik Md. Din, Nazir Husain, Alla Dad Khan, Ahmad Yar.

Those who have not probably any strong bias one way or the other will probably be : Din Muhammad, (Lahore), Habibullah, Shah Md., Nurullah (though, you say, he is believed to be supporting Zafrullah), Mubarik Ali Shah.

So, you should, with great discretion, proceed to win over as much support as possible.

Even if you find that this movement has been set afoot by Ch. Shahabuddin, I should advise you not to have recourse to recriminations. The same is to apply to Ahmad Yar.

As regards the next meeting of the Council, it was the 11th that was in contemplation, but won't the 18th do equally well ? If a notice for convening the meeting has not already issued, then obviously it would be desirable to give a fortnight's notice.

In the matter of Ministership, so far as I can see, the number of your supporters from among the Muslim members of the party is at least double the number of those likely to support Zafrullah Khan. Therefore, I strongly advise you not to make the mistake of forming alliances with Hindus or Sikhs with the object of strengthening your position. This is likely to react unfavourably on you and not to be helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

73.

Private

Camp Narkanda,
2nd October, 1930.

Dear Sikandar,

Firoz apparently came to know of the effort made by some to ask Zafrullah Khan to offer himself for Ministership. The first

question naturally is : does Zafrullah offer himself for Ministership ? If he does not, then this attempt at creating a split in the party should be definitely suppressed. If, on the other hand, he offers himself, then the right course to adopt is for him as well as for Firoz to submit themselves to the vote of their party, and if a substantial majority of the party support one or the other, their opinion should be accepted by both and the matter not allowed to go any further.

In case Zafrullah is offering himself for Ministership, I trust he will not make the mistake of trying to improve his position for Ministership by securing non-Muslim support outside the party for his candidature, as that will have a very bad effect, firstly on the party itself, and, secondly, on his own future. Left to himself, he is not likely to make that mistake, but, some times, friends who are not wise, lead one astray.

It is generally believed that the inspiration has come from Shahabuddin. It may or may not be so, but I trust this will not jeopardise his position in the election to the Presidential Chair.

I have not seen any notice in the papers about the date of the Council meeting. I suppose a fortnight's notice is necessary or, at all events, advisable.

Duli Chand's failure is as great an event as Baldeo Singh's failure, and Chhotu Ram's position cannot be said to have improved unless Duli Chand's opponent Nathwa and Kunwar Maharaj Singh (Ganga Ram's opponent) and Thakur Pancham Chand (Ram Singh's opponent) joins the party or, at all events, support Chhotu Ram's candidature.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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74. Camp Narkanda,
3rd October, 1930.

Dear Shahabuddin,

Herewith a telegram from Firoz. I have known of the suggestion made to Zafrullah for more than ten days, and I was waiting for you

to let me know how things were progressing. Either Firoz is entirely wrong or you did not think it advisable to inform me. My wishes for having peace and good will between you all seem to have been frustrated and the people seem to have been using poor me for their respective purposes. However, I do not complain because such is life.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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75. Camp Narkanda,
3rd October, 1930.

Dear Firoz,

I got your telegram and answered it back : "If so, you are free to act as circumstances demand". This was sent in order to leave you free to act with reference to Chaudhuri Sahib and Ahmad Yar as you deemed fit as in my first telegram and letter I have said that you should have recourse to no recriminations. I am sending you a copy of a letter I sent to Sikandar to-day. My advice still is—see Zafrullah direct and carry out the suggestions I made in my last letter. Personally, I think it will blow off.

You will, no doubt, think of what to do in the matter of Chaudhuri Sahib's rival candidate in Gurdaspur constituency. If he has sent in his election accounts within the time allotted for that purpose, he can present an election petition at once. What he has done, or not done, naturally can be ascertained from him. If it is correct that Zafrullah has not moved in the matter but Chaudhuri Sahib has, then you are free to act in this matter as circumstances permit. Amongst your party, I suppose the likely candidates for Presidentship will be : Din Muhammad, Habibullah and Chhotu Ram if he is prepared to give up leadership of the party.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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76. Camp Baghi,
7th October, 1930.

Dear Deshmukh,

Yours of the 2nd inst.

I am very glad Jadhav is going to the Round Table Conference. Had I known the fact last May or June, I would have succeeded in getting one from the C. P. too.

Thanks very much for telling me about the C. P. and Berar Depressed Classes Federation. I will bear in mind what you have said as to the nomination of representatives from particular classes of this area and will invite the attention of the authorities with whom nominations rest.

I do not like the poor Gonds being imposed upon in the way they have been imposed upon. It does them no good, and I do not think it does the national movement any good, while the poor Gonds may suffer considerably in consequence. Is there no way of saving them ? I have always felt that in the political struggle which, no doubt, India has to wage, if it is to make any progress, we should be careful to act on the principles of good responsible generals who act on the principle that the casualties suffered be, in some way, in proportion to the gain resulting from particular engagements. It is not right to let men who trust you be killed in large numbers while the gain of objective thereby is not facilitated in any appreciable extent. It is a very great responsibility which devolves upon the leaders of political India, and I have often felt that they do not realise the full implications and import of that responsibility.

I have been in the interior of the Simla Hills during the last few days and will return to Simla on the 11th inst., and will be in Delhi from the 2nd November.

With best wishes. I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

77. Mylapore, Madras,
11th October, 1930.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I trust your report on the Simon recommendations would be just as you desired and nothing to complain against. The Round Table Conference is meeting in a month and let us hope there will be some satisfactory solution. Good or bad, the sooner the new reforms are inaugurated, the better for the peace of the country.

The elections are over here in Madras, and I have been defeated. My support of the Simon Commission and acceptance of office at a time when the two other Ministers resigned office on the Simon Boycott issue were effectively exploited against me. Inspite of the defeat, I still feel that I did the right thing at the time. This is one of the vicissitudes of public life which can't be helped. My hon. colleague Sesuratnam Iyre had a similar defeat. The President of the Council, Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raja who has been in the Council continuously for the last 18 years has also been defeated by two raw men, his offence being that he accepted the Presidentship of the Council and continued so, even after the Congress called off its members early in 1930. Dr. Subbarayan, the Chief Minister, got in by the skin of his teeth by a majority of four even in his small land-holders constituency.

The Governor has put off ministry making to the end of the month. Till then we continue in office. After that I have to try my luck at the bar with which I have been out of touch for the last two years and a half till such time as I can get out of it again.

It seems the Viceroy is likely to meet Pundit Motilal Nehru in Mussorie. Mr. Nariman and Co. will soon inaugurate their parallel system of Government. I do not know what we are in for. I doubt even if God can save us. Yet let us hope for the best and do what little we can.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. Muthiah

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78. The Retreat, Simla,
13th October, 1930.

Dear Chhotu Ram,

This personal squabble has hurt me more than anything else for many many years. This shameful exhibition of spite and malice would not be worth noticing but for its most damaging effect in the best interests of the party. United, the Party could demand its rights: divided, it becomes a laughing-stock for all. I am in entire agreement with you that the least the party was entitled to, was to have two Ministers from it. My personal views on the subject are, as you know, quite strong. I would prefer a Ministry of 2, both Ministers being non-Muslims, as long as they belonged to the Unionist Party which is the majority party. The Muslim Minister came in only because of the possibility of a third Minister not belonging to the Party. The position of the party being reduced to have but one-third share, and that of a communal nature, is intolerable and one which the party, if united, could have violently protested against.

When I have got more information as to what has happened and what is happening next week, I will be in a position to discuss the suggestions contained in your letter. I am in entire agreement with you on the question of principle, but the adoption of a particular course of action depends upon the material available, and that is where the question of expediency comes in. On that question opinion cannot be expressed till one knows all the facts. I do hope the mischief done is not irreparable and that we will be able to undo it, if not entirely, at least to a very large extent.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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79.
Personal and private

Simla,
13th October, 1930.

My dear Bajpai,

Yours of the 26th from Geneva.

I quite appreciate how busy you must have been and how little time you could have had to tell me about things. What you say about

Hertzog is quite satisfactory. On the other hand, the position in South Africa seems to be far from satisfactory. It appears that the Union Government Ministers are going out of their way to embark upon racial warfare. I am told that Mr. O. Pirow, Minister of Justice, and Mr. Grobbler, Minister of Lands, have recently made speeches raising the question that H. M. G.'s policy relating to Kenya is wrong and that they must fight it out to the bitter end. Whether they are prepared to make a distinction between Indians and the natives, I do not know ; but if they are not, then, obviously. the principles they enunciate are such that India cannot but contest and, when it comes to a struggle, must do with all the power at its command. In fact, it seems to me that these people are raising a question of the utmost importance to the British Empire, viz., whether the British Empire is to be white or not. I do hope you will point out to the South African representatives in England the very great danger of such a struggle.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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80. The Retreat, Simla,
16th October, 1930.

My dear Malik Sahib,

Yours of the 3rd inst. I have no doubt your being in London will be a source of great strength to the Indian Delegation, in particular, to the Punjab Members of it. Firoz has been re-appointed Minister by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab and has been given the portfolio of Education. I will be going down to the Punjab for a few days and will try to see both K........................and Allah Bakhsh. Nothing will afford me greater pleasure than to be of some help to them.

As regards the Reforms, quite a large number of points in dispute between Muslims and Hindus in India are no longer matters of controversy, and if both sides look into the problem in an

amicable spirit, the matters on which there is not agreement at present can be settled without difficulty. The matters which may be treated as practically finally settled are :

(1) The Frontier Province should have reforms, the nature of the said reforms to be the same more or less as in other provinces of India.

(2) Separation of Sindh.

(3) Representation in local Legislatures of the six provinces where Muslims are in a minority. The proportion of representation of Muslims to non-Muslims in general electorates existing at present should be the proportion between Muslims and non-Muslims of the proposed reformed Council.

(4) In the Central Legislature, the present proportions of Muslims to non-Muslims in general electorates be maintained.

(5) In administration generally in the different provinces and in the Central Legislature, roughly speaking, the Muslim representation should be as in their respective Legislature.

(6) In local Bodies, the same principles be observed as in the case of provinces.

The only point with regard to which there is some dispute is that in the Punjab and in Bengal, the Muslim representation in the Legislatures should reflect the population basis. It is on this point that there is controversy and a compromise can be effected to the effect that instead of Muslims having the same proportion, for the present they should be satisfied with an odd majority.

As regards Reforms generally, the proposals of the Simon Commission as to provinces need only slight modification, as for example : (a) in the Provincial Cabinets, the official member is objected to and (b) in the matter of over-riding powers, that they be limited to the administration of Police and justice. If these two points are conceded, there will be very general satisfaction. As to the Centre, there is a

great deal of controversy—whether there should be full advance or some advance or no advance. Some people hold that some advance is out of the question : it is either full advance, or no advance ; and in that case, quite a body of opinion will support the Simon Report view that at the Centre, advance be, for the present, not admitted. Some people, feeling that no advance is very disappointing, have recourse to a subterfuge of having some advance, but some advance means either no advance, or full advance, just as it is administered and it is best that both the Indian and the British public should realise this.

I have given above the salient facts and main issues. I am not in a position now to give my own views on these points.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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81. .The Retreat, Simla,
17th October, 1930.

Dear Mr. Mudaliar,

Yours of the 11th.

I did not know you had a bad luck at the elections, but I did see in the papers that the Governor was postponing the evil day of re-constituting the Ministry. In public life, there are ups and downs and some curious turns of the corners. There is nothing like taking such incidents or episodes in a philosophic spirit. Don't you think going out at this time, in a way, improves the chances of being returned on the introduction of the Reforms ? I trust you will continue to take interest in political matters and not give up politics. I know the profession of Law is a very jealous mistress and in the case of one who has jilted her already is likely to be very coquettish, but there is nothing like perseverance even in the case of the most uncertain person to be wooed.

I have not been very well during the last two months or so, but am much better now.

We are, no doubt, passing through most interesting times. The establishment of a parallel system of government requires a very great deal of organization and funds and, I am afraid, involves the use of all sorts of fair and unfair, violent and non-violent, means ; and although in India there is a chance of diametrically opposed governments succeeding each other many times over, I doubt whether the two can subsist side by side. One must go under.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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82. Fazl-i-Husain to Private Secretary to Viceroy.

Telegram P., Lahore.
27th October, 1930.
HC/25.

Please refer to your telegram regarding Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah not going to England on account of ill-health. I have sent you my views on the subject. As Bombay Presidency is already represented by Aga Khan, Jinnah, and Shah Nawaz Bhutto, it is desirable that a substitute for Sir Ibrahim be found from Frontier Province or Bengal; and, if this view be not acceptable to His Excellency, then from Madras, and, failing that, from Punjab.

83.

King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
6th November, 1930.

Dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 10th October which I found informing and interesting.

One reads such a lot of stuff about the various batches of Indian Delegates to the Round Table Conference solving all the Indian problems on their way to London that one does not really believe in them very much. As a matter of fact there is very little left to solve, and

the great thing for you and Jinnah and others to do is to subdivide the 14 points under two heads :

(1) those points on which the Simon Commission, Local Govts. and the Govt. of India have agreed. These should be treated as matters no longer in controversy : e. g., separate electorates, the quantum of representation to Muslims in the Central Legislature, and in the six Provinces (other than the Punjab and Bengal).

(2) under the second head, such matters on which there is a difference of opinion, e. g., the proportion of Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal. It is only the points under the latter head which are open to discussion, and if Muslims and non-Muslims can arrive at a compromise, it will be very good, and every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement, but the basic principle of this agreement should be that the points which fall under the first category should be treated by the non-Muslims as practically settled, and they should show their political sense and their goodwill by not raising discussion about them. Technically, it is open to them to do so, but mutual goodwill and friendship necessitate statesmanlike attitude, and that undoubtedly demands that matters on which Muslims have been keen and the Simon Commission, Local Govts. and the Govt. of India all hold the view that those particular points should be conceded, it is not practical politics for the Hindus to reopen those matters and expect Muslims to agree to give up their demands.

I think the first formula that the Muslim representative should enunciate is a genuine and keen desire of the Muslims to come to a friendly and brotherly understanding with the .... (incomplete)

Yours sincerly,
Fazl-i-Husain

84. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
6th November, 1930.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have seen your letters, &c.

I see that you have had a very good time in connection with the Imperial Conference, and by the time you get this letter you will be in the thick of the Round Table Conference work. I have no doubt the soundness of your views and the friendly way in which you place your views before others will enable you to bring about a great deal of agreement from others on these views. When one comes to think of it, really there is not much which can be said to be a matter of controversy between the Muslims and the Hindus. So far as I can see, the mode of election and the proportion of representation on the Central Legislature and on the six minority provinces is more or less a matter which is, no doubt, theoretically, open to discussion but practically it may well be treated as a settled fact. So far as I can see, it is only the proportion of Muslim representation in the Punjab, and in Bengal ; that is the matter on which an agreement will be a very great help to Government. The Simon Commission has made no specific recommendation on the subject, having left it open. Local Govts. have made certain recommendations which are not acceptable to the Muslims of these Provinces. The Govt. of India have expressed their views which are, I believe, from the Muslim point of view, more liberal than of the Provincial Governments ; but they are not the views that the Muslims of the two provinces agree to or accept. The Muslims of these provinces want the proportion of population to be reflected in their respective Councils, and there is a great deal to be said for their position. It is impossible to fix the proportion at the Round Table Conference in view of the uncertainty as to what the population and the voting strength proportions are likely to be after the next census and the preparation of the voters' register when the franchise has been settled. Therefore the formula that the round......
(Incomplete)

Yours sincerly,
Fazl-i-Husain

85. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
1st December, 1930.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I am so glad to hear from your colleagues that you are doing wonderfully well, and I heartily congratulate you on it.

I hope you will take the line that communal differences have now become very much narrowed down, inasmuch as the mode of election has been settled suitably by a consensus of opinion—Local Govts., the Simon Commission, again Local Govts. and the Govt. of India. They can be taken away from Muslims with their consent and the mode of obtaining that consent is also given in the Govt. of India's despatch. This subject should now be treated as closed and no useful purpose can be served by harping on it. Muslim India cannot, for a moment, think that any useful purpose can be served by discussing this subject any further.

As regards the quantum of representation, so far as the local Legislatures and the Central Legislature are concerned, the matter is settled again by a consensus of opinion of Local Govts., the Simon Commission, and the Govt. of India.

As regards the Frontier Province, the Local Govt. has recommended a representative of some sort in Responsible Government. The Govt. of India supported it and gave it its blessings. That province will not be satisfied with what has been recommended by the Local Govt. and by the Govt. of India. It is for you to get this province into line with other provinces if you can, or, at all events, get the very best for the province. The important point concerning this matter is that if that province is not given a really good constitution, it will always be ready to play into the hands of the Congress, and therby the position of Indian Mussalmans will be very much weakened. Political wisdom lies in doing the province well, and I trust British statesmanship will not fail to grasp this point.

Now the difficult points are :

(1) The separation of Sind. The Govt. of India has recommended a Committee, but if Hindus agree the Committee may not be necessary and separation decided upon in London as

a great deal of literature exists on the subject. Nehru Report has supported separation; Muslims demand separation : so, one can reasonably say that India is agreed on it.

(2) As regards Services, I trust a general declaration that Services should reflect the proportions which are in the Legislatures will be made by agreement.

(3) As regards the representation in the Cabinet, I am afraid it cannot go into the Statute and its being in the Instrument of Instructions does not help very much. Really, the political forces in operation will not admit of it.

I am very glad indeed to hear that both you and Jehan Ara are doing so remarkably well and winning golden opinions in England. I am anxious that you should win golden opinions in your country as well. No one here has any fault to find with you until now, and I trust the course the Conference will take will be such that when you come back here, you may be appreciated as highly in your own country as there. It is most gratifying that Muslim India is united and appreciatve and discriminating.

It is very gratifying to see that there has been a great deal of enthusiasm about the federal constitution. Of course, as you know, Muslim India is for it every time, but one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that the difficulties which the British Govt. has to face in the matter of either parting with Parliamentary powers or not remain unchanged and they are difficult to solve whether the constitution is federal or otherwise.

I am so glad all of you are working so harmoniously and the stalwarts have given an excellent lead. Your speech has been widely appreciated. Jinnah has spoken well. I hope the young men will also get their chance. Zafrullah a nice, quiet fellow, not at all anxious to put himself forward, and ready to do whatever he is asked to do. He needs being encouraged. He has ability and if given a chance he will do good work. I have no doubt you will give him the requisite encouragement at a suitable opportunity.

Give my best wishes to Lady Shafi and Jehan Ara and Tazi. I am so glad Iqbal is now completely restored to health and has rejoined his College at Oxford.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

86.

6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
1st December, 1930.

Dear Zafrullah Khan,

Yours of the 20th November. I am sorry you did not get my letters, but I did write to you more than once.

The attitude that you say you have adopted with reference to speaking and working on the Committees, & c., is the correct one to adopt and suitable. I do hope, however, you will get an opportunity to work on your own. I pray that you get such an opportunity.

As to communal matters, I really do not see why there should be such a fuss about them. Why don't you all agree about the matter of mode of election (separate electorates) till they are given up by Muslims themselves, and the quantum of representation in local Legislatures of the six provinces, and reforms for the Frontier Province, more or less, as settled facts. The points that are still not settled facts are quantum of representation in the Punjab and Bengal, Separation of Sind. Of these, the quantum of representation in the two provinces is, so far as the views of the Local Governments and of the Govt. of India are concerned, in favour of giving Muslims a representation of not less than 51%, and as regards the latter, the Govt. of India has proposed a Committee, but I am not sure what will be the outcome of it. So, that is a matter on which the Hindus agree with Muslims that Sind should be separated, which will help the Muslims. The other points to which Muslims attach importance are representation in the Cabinet, which, to my mind, is impracticable, both through statutory provision and through convention, and representation in Services, which is possible to arrange for under the Instrument of Instructions, but very little value can.........(incomplete)

Yours Sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

87.

6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
1st December, 1930.

Dear Shafaat Ahmad,

Yours of the 21st ult.

I am glad you are all getting on quite nicely. The difficult problems with which all those who are trying to settle the matter of reforms in India are face to face. The main question is whether the British Parliament is going to give up certain of its powers or not, and whether the constitution adopted is federal or non-federal does not really make very much difference.

As regards the communal differences, I really fail to notice what they are and why so much importance is attached to them. Most of these matters which used to be in dispute are now, by a consensus of opinion of responsible authorities like the Local Govts., the Govt. of India and the Simon Commission, all non-communal institutions, settled, e.g.,the mode of Muslim representation, (separate electorates), quantum of representation in six local Legislatures, and Central Legislature, giving reforms to the Frontier Province; and the points which are not quite settled, e.g., the quantum of representation in Bengal and the Punjab and the separation of Sind are very nearly settled if the Govt. of India's views are elaborated which will give both the Punjab and Bengal something like 52 or 53%. That is only a compromise. It will not satisfy Indian Muslims, but still it will be a step forward. The points that are really in dispute are the representation of Muslims in the Cabinet and in Services. As statutory provision cannot be made for the first and convention cannot go very far, the compromise which could reasonably be attempted is that Muslims say nothing about shares in the Cabinet and Hindus agree to an adequate representation of Muslims in Services, i.e., representation in Services being the same as representation in Legislatures. I am afraid the Hindu outlook is so narrow and so selfish that they are not likely to agree to it but we can steadily work for it and when it is an accomplished fact, they will find it extraordinarily difficult to undo it.

I wish you all good luck.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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88. In train, Enroute to Delhi.
20th December, 1930.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 5th inst. I am afraid its contents are a bit disappointing.—

(1) **The Frontier Province** : You say the Muslim Delegation is not likely to obtain an advance over the Government of India's proposals. That is a great pity, because now that the Frontier Province has been compelled to go over to the Congress, so to speak, the Government will have no chance of satisfying any party in the province by such very halting reforms.

(2) **Sind** : You say much is not likely to be achieved and that the Muslim delegates are not likely to obtain an advance over the Govt. of India's proposal.

(3) As regards other matters, you seem, if one is to give any credit to the reports that appear here, likely to throw away or lose what the Government of India and the Local Governments gave to Muslims. This, you will readily recognise, can hardly be said to be a wonderful achievement for the Muslim Delegation that went to London. If the Muslim position in the matter of reforms is made worse when the proposals emerge from the Round Table Conference than it was when the proposals reached the Round Table Conference, the responsibility for making them worse must rest on the Round Table Conference, and Muslim India will naturally like to know what the Muslim members of the Delegation were doing when the changes for the worse were taking place.

(4) It seems to me that the line of action adopted by the Muslim Delegation has been at fault. The Muslim Delegation went on saying amen to all general platitudes about advance and obtaining full Responsible Government and Dominion Status and so on, in order to loom large in the English public press and in their own minds made what is called a mental reservation that all these demands are subject to

Muslim demands being accepted, If, on the other hand, the line of action were that on certain definite points the Local Govts., the Simon Commission and the Govt. of India have arrived at definite conclusions and Muslims consider affirmation of those conclusions essential to any scheme of reforms and would like to know whether the Round Table Conference agrees with them or not, the onus would have been thrown on those who challenge the soundness or the correctness of the conclusions arrived at by these three responsible institutions. Under this head, there were but three points: (1) Separate electorates; (2) weightage in six provinces; (3) weightage in the Central Legislature. Having settled these, which meant affirmation of the unanimous recommendations of three responsible institutions, they could have proceeded to say that we want reforms to be given, subject to but one condition—namely in the Punjab and Bengal majority of constituencies to be Muslim—and eventually stuck to the proposals contained in the Govt. of India Despatch—population basis in general constituencies with separate electorates—provided that it did not give majority over all, with chances to add from special constituencies.

(5) I notice that leading Muslim Delegates, for some reason or other, have been trying to establish their own reputation for patriotism for being non-communal, for being obliging to the Labour Government. I am afraid if this surmise is correct, they have done the greatest possible disservice to India and to the Empire. If the reports one receives here are correct, then it is much to be regretted that none of you has had the requisite independence of character to take up a line which, in all probability, is unpopular and likely to embarrass or even annoy the authorities. I trust I am not unduly severe in what may appear my condemnation of your work. No one will be more pleased than I if the suspicions of Indian Muslims based on reports that reach here are entirely

unfounded, and no one will be more ready than I to offer my grateful thanks to you all for your efforts.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

89.
6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
22nd December, 1930.

Dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 28th November by ordinary mail.

I cannot help noticing two things as regards the Muslim part of the Delegation to the Round Table Conference : (1) They seem to ignore where the Muslim case stood after the Govt. of India Despatch, and (2) the keen desire to invest His Majesty's Govt. with their sense of patriotism which, probably, is nothing else than their usual desire to please those in authority.

The Muslim case stands something like this : In Six Provinces and in the Central Legislature, Muslims to have the weightage and separate electorates. Any one who wants to re-open this part of the case has to establish the need for it. Surely, this view, held in common by Local Govts., the Govt. of India and the Simon Commission, cannot be thrown overboard by even the Labour Govt. without the assent of Muslims, and the view prevailing here is that Muslim Delegates to the Round Table Conference who, for reasons best known to themselves, may be ready to give the Labour Govt. the requisite support to undo what has been done by the exertions of Indian Muslims in obtaining support from Local Govts., the Govt. of India and the Simon Commission, will be regarded as having acted treacherously not only towards their own community but also towards India, because they know full well that their assent is being given to the prejudice of their own community and, eventually, to that of India. I have respect for those who, in order to attain National unity in India, believe that by sacrificing Muslims it can be attained and the end will justify the means ; but I can have no respect for those who do not believe in this, and yet,

for unworthy reasons, may be prepared to pretend that this course will not injure their community or their country.

As regards Bengal, the course seems to me to be clear. For the next stage of reforms, Bengal should have population basis in general constituencies. This has been recommended by the Local Government and has the support of the Govt. of India. It is open to you to reduce the number of general constituencies a very great deal. The result will be that Muslims will preponderate over Indian non-Muslims by probably 2%. This will leave the decisive vote with the Europeans who are a large community in Bengal.

As regards the Punjab, the Punjab Govt's. proposals, modified a little in the light of the general observations of the Govt. of India, are bound to give Muslims 51 with separate electorates. So, how can the proposals to give 51% through joint electorates, for a moment, be held as preferable, I for one fail to see.

Do not be foolish enough, for the sake of a little applause, to agree to women's franchise by marriage or widowhood. This will undermine the Muslim position throughout India and is no less harmful at this stage of political development than joint electorates. Now, what is it that the Labour people offer ?—We give you responsibility at the Centre if you settle your communal disputes. Now, who will benefit more by responsibility being introduced at the Centre at this stage ? Hindus or Muslims ? Undoubtedly, the Hindus. Therefore, who should be anxious to settle communal differences in order to secure the promised gain ? Naturally the Hindus. Then why should Muslims, who are politically, educationally and economically weaker in the country, pretend that by ousting the British power from India and by introducing responsibility they stand to gain so much that, for it, they are prepared to sacrifice communal interests. The position has only to be visualized in a fair, judicial and common-sense way to notice the absurdity of it. The only explanation people here give of the attitude of some of the Muslim members of the Indian Delegation is—corruption. The Turkish nation was ruined over and over again by their Pashas. Is the Indian Muslim community going to be ruined by the Muslim Delegates at the Round Table Conference ?

Indian Muslims consider that the future peace, tranquility and prosperity of India are at stake, and, further, that this means only creation of a situation in which British control may have to be re-inforced in India at no distant date and the progress made during the past few years will be obliterated, and justification for going back provided. I sincerely hope that will not actually happen.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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90. New Delhi.
23rd December, 1930.

It is with the utmost regret, sorrow and distress that I have just read the news of a most cowardly and dastardly assault on you on the occasion of the Punjab University Convocation this afternoon. From the papers I had understood that the conferment of Degrees was put off, or was to be done as it is done at Cambridge and Oxford by the Vice Chancellor or some one authorised by him. I do hope the news is correct that the injuries are of a minor nature. It is left to the most sympathetic and the most popular of Rulers to be the victim of dastardly assaults of terrorists who see in good Rulers a serious threat to their movement. I shall feel grateful if you ask your Private Secretary to keep me informed of the progress you make. I have not the slightest doubt that rural Punjab will be up in arms against the coward assailant, for, believe me, they have great love and admiration for you and count you as one of their best friends, and it is due to this, as a matter of fact, that the Punjab has been quiet during the last 8 or 9 months.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

To

Sir Geoffrey de-Montmorency,
Punjab Governor.

91.

Private & Confidential

6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
26th December, 1930.

Dear Sikandar,

Yours of the 25th.

When I read the news of the horrible, dastardly outrage on His Excellency Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, it gave me a very great shock indeed. I know nothing yet as to who the culprit is, but I have no doubt this must be a part of the conspiracy that exists in this matter, and I do hope the Police will not be satisfied with only bringing the culprit to justice but will do their utmost to get to the bottom of the conspiracy, of which this culprit forms but a part.

As regards the Round Table Conference, I am afraid Bhopal's emissary was able to get out of you all a diplomatic reply which, from the reports, it appears his master was able to utilise to proceed to negotiate on the basis of joint electorates. As you know, I have always regarded such diplomatic replies as unsound and likely to give trouble and not bring about any gain. I want to impress upon you all the soundness of this view and am most anxious that at this critical stage, this principle be not departed from. There is no sense in Muslims making proposals to satisfy the Hindus. What is the object to be gained by them ? There is no *quid pro quo*. If they say it is introduction of responsibility at the Centre, then, surely, that is not desired by the Muslims alone, or even to a larger extent than by the Hindus. If the Hindus are really genuine about their desire, why should they not be prepared to ask for it and let the separate electorates alone ? Realy and truly, what they are after is to involve Muslims in bargaining and then leave the matter for the decision of the Labour Government in the hope that the Labour Government may be able to say that the Muslims have been offering to give up separate electorates, therefore, they cannot be vital elements in their political existence, and thus proceed to do as they think best. This position must be avoided............(Incomplete).

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

92.

No. 1137-C Viceroy's Camp, India.
26th December, 1930.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

With reference to the enclosed note, His Excellency asked me to say that he has wired to the Secretary of State as suggested in para. 3 (a) in your note.

With regard to the passage in the "*Indian Daily Mail*",[1] His Excellency's own inclination is to treat it with silence. He would however have no objection to your consulting Sir George Rainy and Crerar; and if they think that a dementi ought to be published, you would perhaps get Bajpai to put out some kind of contradiction in the Press.

Yours sincerely,
G. Cunningham

The Hon'ble
Khan Bahadur Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., Kt.

Submitted to Sir George Rainy and Sir James Crerar for favour of perusal and return and then I will talk to them.

F.H.
30.12

Seen and passed on.

G. R.
30.12.30

I shall be glad to discuss at any time.

G. Crerar
30.12

Indian Daily Mail (Bombey)
21st December, 1930.

London, (by Air Mail)

There is one point about the attitude of the Government of India on which I should like a little information. Most serious political thinkers in India have realised now for many years that a considerable amount of the present confusion in the working of the Montagu Re-

1. *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay, 21 December, 1930.

forms has been caused by the system of Communal Electorates, and I for one have been tremendously impressed, in many conversations which I have had with Indians of all schools of thought, by their advocacy of the desirability of giving up this system of election. It is well-known however that Sir John Simon proposed to retain this objectionable feature of the constitution, and that the Government of India, while stating that the privilege of communal electorates should not be taken away without the consent of the community concerned—such consent requiring the votes of two-thirds of the members in the Legislature of the community concerned—attached importance "to providing machinery for the disappearance of such electorates, and for their future repalcement by normal systems of representation more suited to responsible self-government on democratic lines".

New Delhi speaks :

This pious hope is being interpreted by certain people, who are talking with all the appearance of authority, as being nothing more or less than a perpetuation of the "status quo". What other people are now beginning to ask is :—What has the Government of India done as an active political force to try and get rid of this anomaly, and what in particular has it been doing during the last few weeks, when it has been an open secret that enlightened leaders of public opinion in both the main religious camps have been striving their utmost to secure joint electorates at almost any price? Has the Government of India backed the progressive elements, or has it sat stiffly in its *non possumus* attitude? There has been a wild story flying around during the last twenty-four hours that a mysterious message has been received from New Delhi advocating and supporting joint electorates. If this is true, I should like to know whether this is Lord Irwin's private view, or the view of his Executive Councillors. I can quite understand His Excellency the Viceroy taking such a line, but frankly I find it difficult to believe that he has won the support of all the members of the Executive.

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93. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
5th January, 1931.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Yours of the 15th of December.

You will be getting this letter on the eve of your departure for India and probably when the Round Table Conference has concluded its deliberations. It is, therefore, no use my writing about the matters you mentioned in your letter. Feeling here has been very, very acute indeed, and as everybody here knows perfectly well, there is no question of nationlism but only of dominating over non-Hindus by the Indian Government of the future. No one is ready to sacrifice the Muslim community and its culture and its future to hasten the beginning of the end. Sentimental appeals and rhetorics and so on fail to carry conviction,and neither Hindus nor the Labour Party can expect, in these days,to effect a change. Both will have to convince the Muslims of their bona fides before their appeals can be listened to. If the British Government formulate a scheme which violates Muslim interests,then the responsibility for the future trouble will be theirs and not of the Muslims or of the Indians.

Do let me know when you will be reaching Delhi. I hope you will break journey here before going to Lahore and tell us all about your great experiences in England.

Thanks very much for your very kind cable of condolence on my nephew's death. We all appreciate the feelings of sympathy which prompted it.

With the very best of wishes,

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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94. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
5th January, 1931.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 19th December.

You are now in the middle of the most important part of your

stay there which, I take it, really commenced from about the 15th of December. It is impossible to express any opinion as to the various stages of the controversy, not knowing what those stages were and the circumstances under which they were reached; but I do think the matter of making offers was for the party which has everything to gain by the advance and nothing to lose and for the party which is, at present, protected by various elements which go to constitute the present stage of advance. You will get this letter on the eve of your departure for India, and your parting communication to your supporters in England and to others is this :

1. It is doubtful whether political Hindu India will be satisfied with any advance that even the present-day Labour Government may be prepared to give it, and after a little discussion, controversy, and attempts at formation of parties, soon the position will be reached, but by far the largest element of Hindu India will express in no unequivocal terms its dissatisfaction with the reforms given, irrespective of the extent of them. Therefore, the issue once more will be : who will work the reforms.

2. Muslims have worked the reforms in the past and will be prepared to work the new reforms to be given, provided their vital interests are not jeopardised by these reforms, which means (1) in six provinces, existing weightage through separate electorates is maintained ; (2) substantial reforms are given to the Frontier Province ; (3) in the Punjab, some majority is given to Muslims in the Council as a whole through separate electorates ; (4) in Bengal, Muslims are given majority on population basis against non-Muhammedan Indians through separate electorates but not over non-Muslims plus Europeans. As a transitional stage, i. e., till later on they can be given a majority against all.

5. That the Franchise Committee should lower the Franchise and so arrange that Muslim voters in the Punjab and Bengal begin to reflect the proportion of their population, and further that special interests and constituencies are eliminated.

6. That Muslims have nothing to gain by siding with Government if Government pushes them to accept a position which the Congress offers them, for then they stand to gain by joining Congress and intensifying the struggle against Government.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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95. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
7th January, 1931.

Dear Firoz,

Herewith a telegram.

I have no doubt Shafi intended in this way to place the Hindus in the wrong and was not at all serious about it ; but it is such dishonest tactics which, instead of doing harm to the other side, does harm to those who have recourse to them I have, therefore, always advised all my friends to have nothing to do with such tactics. The danger in this case is that the Labour Government may say after all, this was the offer made by the Muslims to the Hindus; that, therefore, if we decide in accordance with the offer which the Muslims made and the Hindus refused, the Muslims can have nothing to grumble about. Even if they reduce the term of this offer, i. e., making them less favourable to Muslims, they may find some justification from this offer. It is, therefore, essential that throughout India, the offer be repudiated with great force and an intimation of it sent to the Prime Minister. to Aga Khan and to Mian Sahib. The suitable terms will be : Sir Mohammad Shafi's offer of joint electorates to Moonje is repudiated by Muslims all over India as made without authority, knowing Indian Muslim opinion to be strongly against it and knowing it to be most prejudicial to Muslim interests and to the future welfare of India. Reservation of seats absolutely unacceptable to Muslims.

I have no doubt this is the view which finds favour with the Muslim Outlook, Inqilab and Siyasat, and if you call them and show them the telegram and explain what I have stated above, they will

be ready to join in sending a telegram to that effect and also writing in support of it, and also informing Ittehad at Patna and other Muslim papers all over India of this.

Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

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96. Lahore.
7th January, 1931.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I herewith enclose a telegram that I received from Amir Ali in London which you might care to see. I am sorry to inform you that Muslim opinion here is gradually but surely beginning to express itself against the Labour Government. We are all beginning to feel that the Labour Government are going to bring over the Congress Hindus and make scapegoat of Muslims.

This is what was expected because the only parties in Parliament who were likely to be fair to Muslims were either the Conservatives or perhaps even the Liberals. These are both out of power. The Labour have in the past been allied with the Congress. Although the Labour Premier has been reserved in his talk but our delegates have the definite impression that Labour Government are going to let us down inspite of our co-operation. This is sad and I am afraid it is going to prove that the few pro-Congress Muslims were right and if any agitation is started by the Congress in the near future it may become impossible to keep the Muslims out of it.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

Show to H. E.
F.H.

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97. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
12th January, 1931.

Dear Firoz,

I am sending you two notes. Secure the signatures of as many Muslim members as possible to the first note at the forthcoming meeting.

As to the second note, I think you should read the relevant portions of the Punjab Government's report and also of the Government of India Despatch. Then read this note carefully, and have a good talk with Craik. I am sure in view of what has happened and what he must know of the non- Muslim mind in India, this is the least he can do in the matter of the Punjab.

I understand in the matter of appointment of Public Prosecutors, which is Craik's special charge, attention is not paid to the gravity of the present-day situation. Try to impress this on his mind and also on the mind of H. E. When H. E. is better and has a time, discuss the note as to the constitution of the Legislative Council with him again.

I think at the Headquarters, there should be some one now when the Assembly is in session to protect Muslim interests, and a small fund of Rs. 3,000/- is required. I suppose; the Punjab should contribute Rs. 1,000/- U. P. Rs. 750/- Bengal Rs. 500/- Bombay Rs. 500/- and others Rs. 250/- As to the Punjab Rs. 1,000/-, I will collect a couple of hundreds and you had better find Rs. 800/-. I believe Ahmad Yar, Fazl Ali, Quereshi, Muhammad Hayat, and K. B. Syed Maratib Ali, & C., will not mind finding this sum. It is highly desirable that suitable news should emanate from the Assembly relating to Muslim matters to Muslim papers and, if possible, to some English papers.

Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

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98. New Delhi.
12th January, 1931.

Dear Sikandar,

I have not heard from you for some time. I hope you will exert yourself to keep different cliques together. It would be a great pity to let them drift. This is a very critical stage in the development of the community and the country, and a false step taken will relegate the Punjab to the position of a backward province' tied to the chariot wheels of Hindu India. Get as many Muslim members as possible to sign the note sent herewith and have a talk with H. E. on the basis

of the note on the constitution of the local Legislature. I am sending this to Firoz as well, and I have asked him to help to have some funds. We must place things on a business footing and to run on constitutional lines.

Re. the attack on H. E. this is bound to have created a feeling of very keen and intense resentment in the rural areas. I have no doubt the rural people in large numbers will come to Lahore to inquire after H. E.'s health. You and Firoz should get Chhotu Ram and Harbaksingh also in, and receive all these messages and all the rural people in Lahore, convey their inquiries to H. E., and take H. E.'s messages to them. It is, you know, in the hands of the people of the province themselves, and particularly in those of the rural people, to bring about an atmosphere wherein terrorist school of politics cannot flourish. I agree with you that the people cannot do it on their own unless it be in agreement with the Government. Therefore, in this matter there should be the closest possible co-operation between the rural people and the Government. You should mention this to H. E. and also to the rural people.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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99. The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.
29th January, 1931.

(Confidential)

My dear Sir Fazli,

I send you for your private eye and confidentially a letter* I have just had from Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, whom I know very well as he was my Permanent Secretary at the Board of Education when I was there. I also send you a copy* of what I have just written to him ; but I should like to hear whether there is anything more to be said and whether I have correctly interpreted your feeling.

Yours sincerely,
Irwin.

These documents are not reproduced in the Halifax Collection.

100. Delhi.
25th February, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazli,

I have your letter, enclosing a copy of a note you have submitted to His Excellency on the question of Moslems in the Indian Army.

I rather doubt if it would be wise for us to have the small Committee you suggest, to consider this question. It would be pretty certain to get out, and might make people think that we were giving more attention to that side of the question than to other sides.

I and my Principal Staff Officers are however, as you well know, acutely concerned in getting the right stamp of young men into Sandhurst, and we should very much appreciate if you would meet us quite informally round a table in my office or elsewhere, and give us your views and suggestions on the subject, which those of us who will eventually sit on the Round-Table Conference Defence Committee could make use of there.

Yours sincerely,
Philiph Chetwode.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Eazl-i-Husain, KCIE.,
Member for Education, Health, and Lands,
New Delhi.

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101. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
7th March, 1931.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 5th.

I wonder who brought the rumour to you. A good bit of the peace negotiations was worked up by me, so how can the question of falling out arise. If you will let me know something more of what you have heard, I shall be glad to find out here how this rumour has come to be set afloat.

I hope you will be able to come here for the League meeting which, I understand, is fixed for the 15th.

I am sorry about the election affair. There seems to be a great deal of trouble in the Party, but you should be patient and careful, and not hasty and short-sighted. We must not let this matter grow.

I hope you will make a point to see that a good number of member of the League Council attend so that you may have an effective voice in the deliberations. If all the members decide that Mian Sir Md. Shafi should be the President of the League, it would be an advantage if the Secretary were living where the President lives. You had better have a talk with him on the subject.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

102.

6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
28th March, 1931.

Dear Firoz,

I have seen in "Inquilab" that the statement has been signed by a large number of Muslim M.L.C.' s. Has it been signed by all ? If not, was it due to the fact that they were absent, or was it due to the fact that they refused to sign ? In the latter case, I should like to know the names of the members who refused to sign.

It is very necessary that a large number of Muslim members of the Legislative Council should be present at Delhi at the Conference to be held on the 3rd or the 4th. You should make sure that they attend with you. Amongst others, you should ask Ch. Fazl Ali, Pir Akbar Ali, Mubarek Ali Shah, Faqir Husain, Raza Shah, Riyasat Ali, Noor Khan, Makhdum Mohd. Husain, Shah Muhammad and as many others as you can to come with you. It is very necessary that this work be done. Besides the members of the Legislative Council, it is necessary to see that Iqbal, Meher, Habib and others also come. You should arrange to be here on the 3rd in

order to be in a position to influence the working of the Conference. I attach a great deal of importance to this gathering, and will be in Delhi during these days.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

P.S.

You should also ask the U.P. Minister to come and bring his friends to Delhi. A similar suggestion might be made to Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad of Bombay and to Sir Fakhruddin, telling the latter that if he is not well enough to come himself, he had better send his friends.

103.

Mushir Manzil,
Lucknow.
3rd April, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazli,

While sending you a copy of a letter[1] I have sent to Mr. Gandhi I venture to ask you, and through you the Viceroy also to be kind enough to pay attention to the points raised in that letter. If the R. T. C. meets in London before settling questions bitterly controvercial among Indians themselves it will for sure make the situation more involved. Muslims taking advantage of H. H. Aga Khans extraordinary popularity with the British public will delegate a deputation of their own to England to canvass for their case and even to help Mr. Churchill. In India also they will take to an organised agitation not only against Hindus but also against the Government. Their bitterness against the Govt. will be greater because they have all along foolishly, as I think, been expecting favours and protection from it and thus increasing antagonism of the majority community. They have seen that the Government has utterly failed even to protect their lives or property so even those Muslims who have so far been with the Govt. will go against it or lose all influence with the public.

1. Printed on the following pages as enclosure.

Islam's and Muslim's cry will be more exciting and effective at least in Muslim provinces than was that of the Congress in Peshawar.

Yours very very sincerely,
Mushir Husain Kidwai
of GADIA

Mushir Manzil, Butlerganj,
Lucknow.
2nd April, 1931.

My dear Gandhiji,

I am unable to come to Delhi as I am indisposed and, therefore, I have to send you this letter which has to be long but which requires due consideration as it deals with matters of vital importance. It is an irony of fate that I, who have all my life been advocating political harmony and union between the Hindus and the Muslims, sometimes even single handed, and have urged Muslims most of all have at this juncture to urge the acceptance by the Hindus of the Muslim demands in toto, *including separate electorates,* as they were set out by the All-India Muslim Conference in 1930.

I advocate this for two principal reasons, namely :

(1) The peace and progress of India depends upon Hindu-Muslim amity which should be obtained at any cost, at any sacrifice, and, the Hindus being in the majority, it is they who will have to pay the price and make the sacrifices more than the minority community.

(2) After thoroughly examining the Muslim demands I have found them not to be anti-national to the extent of deserving refusal even when that refusal is certain to delay, if not stop, India's gaining full responsibility.

In my opinion the attitude of the Hindus here should be what Zaghlul's was in Egypt, i.e. they should sign blindfolded the demands of the minority, if the liberty and progress of India on *national lines*, as distinct from exclusively Hindu lines is the *real* object and aim of the Hindus.

As a Muslim I am an internationalist but no body in his senses can charge me of non-nationalism so far as Indian politics go. I have

always held extremely advanced and radical views in Indian politics—more radical than those of Late Gokhale or even of yourself. As regards separate electorates themselves I condemned the compromise between Gokhale and Ali Imam which ushered in separate electorates and, at one time, I was almost the only public man in India who condemned it. In 1909 I wrote in *The Pioneer* twelve reasons against separate electorates. *The Leader* has quoted these recently. But I hold that politics is a living thing. A statesman has to deal with facts as he finds them. Might-have-beens or dead formulas do not count in politics. The present circumstances (whatever the reasons for them might be) are such that if you immediately switch off separate electorates and bring in mixed electorates you will do more harm than good to the cause of India. In this province at least you will cause greater ill-will between the two communities by so doing. There are several reasons why in this province, at least, for another fifteen or twenty years mixed electorates in any shape or form cannot be tried without mischief. The first is that with the present communal temperament of the people you will be opening another battle field between the two communities by introducing mixed electorates. So far there have been riots between Hindus and Muslims on every concievable matter except elections wherever separate electorates have prevailed. If there were election quarrels they were *only* at places (only two, so far as I remember) where the electorate was a mixed one. You probably know that in India people have not yet developed political sense not even their leaders to the extent of being able to confine political differences to public matters only, I notice that election disputes create personal ill-will even between members of the same community. I have seen examples of a kind of family feud having been created by election differences ! So if with this lack of political sense and with the present temperament of the two communities any two candidates are permitted to engender election heat, Benares, Mirzapur, Agra and even Cawnpore will become inevitable and of quite frequent occurrence. Therefore, ***the wisest course*** will be to prevent this opportunity and occasion which mixed electorates are certain to produce for riots and quarrels until the two communities settle down to a more tolerant attitude and the majority community wins over the confidence of the minority

community.

Secondly, if reservation of seats is considered necessary then its natural corollary, separate electorates, cannot be omitted, Reservation of seates with a mixed electorate is a contradiction in terms. Reservation of seats means that the Muslims have no confidence in the Hindus. Mixed electorates mean that they have complete confidence in the Hindus.

Thirdly, unfortunately certain Muslim leaders of the Shia community have, in this province, made the question of electorate a Sunni Shia question. Mixed electorates at the present moment will create Shia Sunni trouble and embitter more at least that one section whom the Hindu majority will refuse to support at the polls against the Hindus also.

Fourthly, so far the Muslim policy, accepted by the Hindus also, has been of having separate electorates and, in pursuance of that policy, by far the greatest majority of the Muslim leaders in fact almost all have engaged themselves whole-heartedly in giving every support they could to that policy. Now if mixed electorates are introduced at once, those persons will be penalised for having done service to the cause of their community and also, according to their belief, to that of the country.

Fifthly, separate electorates even now have not prevented radical, and even Congress Muslims, from getting in. Shairvani, Yusuf Imam and many other Congress men and members of the Swaraj party have been elected inspite of the separate electorates. This has been so in every province. Mahmudabad who stood for an extremely conservative constituency of the Council of State (in defiance of the Congress mandate) got in inspite of his so-called swarajist and nationalist views and is still there.

There are other reasons also why, at least for some time to come, it will be unstatesmanlike—almost mad—to get rid of separate electorates.

Separate electorates can not do the national cause any harm, if the Hindus adopt a liberal attitude and do not adopt a policy of bigotry and vengeance. If they adopt that attitude then surely it is the Muslims that will suffer and not the Hindus. In my opinion the

Muslims themselves will realise in the next constitution, when there will be no official bloc, that neither separate electorates, nor even a weightage of 33% can help them much unless they win the good-will of the majority community. Let them do so but if they refuse to do so even then let them stew in their own juice. Do not make electorates the point for harmony.

When such is the case with that demand of the Muslim Conference which is supposed to be the most non-national and harmful I do not need to dilate upon the other demands. I will only repeat after a thorough and impartial examination that not even one of their fifteen demands is so harmful to the national interests as to make it worth while or sane to jeopardise swaraj for it. Because Muslims are prepared to accede to Hindus while the Hindus are helpless like them what ever they demand for themselves. Muslim demands cannot be called unfair. I realise your difficulties. You cannot but be afraid of the Maha Sabha. But I hold that if Maha Sabha sincerely believes in peace and progress for India it should itself help you in getting responsibilty from Britain.

I notice that your definition of "Purna Swaraj" makes your ideal of swaraj very very low from a political point of view, but please take it from me that even that low kind of swaraj which you seem to aim at will not be realised if the Muslims are goaded to obstruct it. For goodness sake do not let Mirzapur or Cawnpore delude you or the Hindu community that the Muslim community will always be powerless against the brutal attacks of the majority community. It will not be impossible to organise the Muslim community and to make it a solid block of seventy million people. If the present aggressive attitude of the majority community continues the minority shall have to be protected by any and every means possible.

Kindly show this letter to Pandit Malviyaji and others if necessary.

Your very sincer old friend
(Mushir Husain Kidwai)

P. S. Two more points :—

1. Because Congress-Muslims claim to be non-communal and out and out nationalists they should be out of court when

Communal demands are discussed either here or in England. Please do not ignore......(?).

2. I say with my experience of Europe, and it is greater than that of your associates or yourself, that if you went to the London R. T. C. without having settled first in India matters controversial among Indians themselves in the hope that Mr. Macdonald will settle those for you, you will disgrace India and yourself. As it is young men there will receive you as they did the round tablers before with black flage etc.

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104. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
12th April, 1931.

Dear Amir Din,

The Muslim Congress men, I understand, are holding a meeting on the 12th. Abdul Haq and Zaffar Ali are taking a prominent part in it. Why not urge upon Muzaffar Ali the necessity of pressing for and retaining the existing weightage in the six provinces and the Central Legislature and giving majorities to the Punjab and Bengal on population basis, even if it is to be through joint electorates. This is to be the creed of the Muslim Congress men. If they really aspire to serve their country and their community. This is the obvious course for them to adopt. They should pass resolutions to this effect and urge upon the Working Committee of the Congress to accept their view ; and the Congress having adopted it, can call upon the Muslim League and the All-Parties Conference to consider this. We can then all consider what we should do.

I think Zafar Ali Khan has been very badly treated and the Congress has now started upon a course of opposition to Muslims, and a man like Zafar Ali Khan will find himself to be entirely out of place.

Please show this to Mian Sahib and try to have a long talk with Zafar Ali Khan before he goes to this meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

105.

Governor's Camp, Punjab :
16th, April 1931.

My dear Sir Fazli

Thanks for your letter of the 14th of April. I shall be in Lahore for the night of the 21st-22nd. I might be able to see you on the 22nd morning, if that would suit you. Would you phone to my Private Secretary on the evening of the 21st : and I shall probably be able to fix up a time.

I am not at all happy about the amalgamation between the Provincial Zamindara League and the Provincial Zamindara Sabha. The latter organisation was really started by Mangal Singh, in order to get political support for himself among the Sikhs by pretending to be very keen on the economic distress of Sikh Zamindars, with the object of eventually ousting Master Tara Singh from the Presidentship of the Central Sikh League. Mangal Singh's anxiety to amalgamate with the Provincial Zamindara League was, I think, mainly based on the idea that, by so amalgamating, some respectable Sikhs might come within his orbit, who ordinarily would not have joined his Sabha. I warned Chhotu Ram that I thought the result of the amalgamation would be that his organisation would get dominated by Akali extremists of the type of Jaswant Singh, Giyani Sher Singh, etc. This, I am afraid has come to pass. During my visit here (to Rohtak), I also find that his District Zamindara League here has become rather unpopular. The Muslims and Gaur Brahmins in the district regard it as a move by the Jats to dominate the other agricultural classes in the district, and respectable leading Muslim Zamindars, such as Mehrban Ali of Kharkauda, who used to belong to it, are now washing their hands of it. Many Jats have also told me that they have been frightened by the wild talk indulged in by Mahendra Singh, when he came down recently to a meeting of the District Zamindara League at Sonepat, and they are beginning to fight shy of it. The Deputy Commissioner is also distressed about its atmosphere and tone.

The low price of wheat is still very distressing ; but I hope that the wheat import tax will eventually stimulate prices a little.

Your sincerely,
G.F. de Montmorency.

The Hon'ble K.B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., Kt.,
Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

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106 27th April, 1931.

My dear Kidwai,

Yours of the 21st.

I am afraid Mr. Gandhi seems to be employing all the tactics which a politician at bay employs to achieve his object. He is employing Muslim Congressmen to carry on an intense warfare in Muslim ranks. He is putting up some of them to appeal for peace, whether through arbitration or through consultation. On the one hand, he is for peace, and on the other hand, he is carrying on a war.

I am glad Brailvie has called upon the Congress to lay its card on the table as relates to the Hindu-Muslim problem. Briefly put, the problem is—

(1) The existing weightage in six provinces and the Central Legislature to be maintained.

(2) Muslim majorities, in principle, in Bengal and the Punjab to be recognised.

(3) The mode of election—separate or joint.

The Congress view has been expressed as to the third, but not as to the first two. The Nehru Report was not acceptable to any section. Even now the Lucknow Muslim Nationalists meeting proceeded on the assumption of adult franchise. What is the use of talking of adult franchise when it is not practical politics ? The

best advice any one can give to the Congress is that contained in your letter to Gandhi, and I am glad it has been so well received by the entire Muslim and the English press, and I believe it has had a good reception at Home.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

107.

The Retreat,
Simla,
30th April, 1931.

My dear Iqbal,

Yours of the 28th inst.

I apprehended something of this sort and warned you about currents and cross-currents of intrigue and counter-intrigue and cross intrigue. However, we are determined to stand against all intrigues. Our cause is just and righteous, and we must fight and fight hard. Assistance will come from above and our cause shall prevail. I have great faith in the righteousness of our cause and feel that in spite of all intrigues directed against it and all money that is being spent against us, circumstances will be so moulded by Providence that we will succeed.

As regards proposals to hold Conferences of Muslims of various schools of thought, I am in agreement with you that it is altogether unnecessary to hold such Conferences for the following reasons :

(1) The All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is such a Conference, and we should not recognise any other, nor should we bring into being a new Institution. If further consultation is necessary, the All-Parties Muslim Conference will be the authority to convene such an one.

(2) As a matter of fact, there is no difference of opinion amongst Muslims on the main political problems of the day. The Shia Conference at Montgomery and the Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lucknow, I understand, passed practically the

very Resolutions that were passed by the All-Parties Conference at Delhi and the All-India Muslim League at Delhi a few weeks ago. The difference is as to the mode of election, but that difference is also only on the assumption that there is adult franchise. In case there is no adult franchise, all Muslims agree that separate electorates must continue. Various schools of political thought in India consider adult franchise as the ideal to be aimed at, but at this stage of political development feel that there must be the property qualification. Under the circumstances, the so-called difference of opinion is altogether theoretical and unreal. The Round Table Conference has already arrived at the provisional conclusion that the property qualification should exist. Therefore, it is nothing short of hypocrisy to say that Muslims between themselves are not agreed as to the mode of election. The fact that the Lucknow Conference insisted upon adult franchise shows that in the absence of adult franchise they realise that joint electorates are out of the question.

I trust you will give the above-mentioned points to Messers. Meher and Saliq to develop and to make the political world understand. If you can manage to give these to Malik Abdul Majid of the *Muslim Outlook*, he might be able to do some useful work in this connection.

To revert to the first part of my letter—I have not yet finally made up my mind and, if possible, during the course of May, will try if you and others in Simla can discuss this very important question of policy, but I feel like Indian Muslims taking up an obsolutely independent line and, even in these days of financial stringency, taking steps to fight Islam's battle rather than depend upon the help of Princes or Governments. If this can be done, truly representative G vernments may be established throughout India.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

108. Simla,
1st May, 1931.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

On your landing at Bombay, I was very anxious to see for myself how you were, but I learnt later that you had already left Bombay. What Lord Irwin and Emerson told me was not very reassuring. I do hope and trust you will recover your health and strength which have been the ideal of many weak mortals like myself.

While not in your usual good health, you have taken over your present change at a very troublesome time. All the communal riots that have taken place recently have taken place in the U.P. During the last year, the U. P. has probably been more active than any other province with the exception of Gujerat and the Bombay Town in the matter of Congress agitation. Nehrus with their great influence in the province, broad sympathies and non-communal outlook were only believed to have reduced communal trouble or tension to a greater extent than anywhere else, and yet it is in the U. P. that outbursts of communal hatred of a violent type have occurred. Is it due to the poison being greater in the U. P. or to the local officers not being sufficiently effective to control the communal troubles ? Again, is their being unable to control due to lack of ability or lack of will ? There are so many questions which have been worrying me for the last two months or so. I have no doubt these questions have been in your mind already, and no doubt any satisfactory schemes to bring the trouble under control have to be preceded by finding correct answers to these questions. Cownpore and its rural suburbs have been an eye-opener to many. One cannot believe all one hears. May I tell you the impression left on my own mind ? It appears that the general impression in the provinces was that since the Civil Disobedience has been called off, the Police has not to interfere with Congress activities as far as possible. The attempted *Hartal* at Cawnpore was undoubtedly under Congress orders. Is it possible that the local authorities may have felt diffident in putting up a strong fight against the Congress Organization while their general instructions were to be friendly to the Congress and, as far as possible, not to come into clash with

them ? Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why the Police should have been so uninterested or indifferent as Hindus and Muslims make it out to be.

I am sorry for inflicting this letter on you, knowing how busy you are. You need not answer the second part of my letter, but please do let me have a line as to how you yourself are.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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109. The Retreat,
Simla,
3rd May, 1931.

Dear Rajah Sahib,

Yours of the 25th April.

I am very grateful to you for giving me an exhaustive and clear statement of events, and I have read it with very great interest. I am in entire agreement with the views expressed by you, and I am sure you will find leading Muslims in different parts of India also taking the same view.

As regards the press, I think we are inclined to minimize the facilities which are available to Indian Muslims just now. In the U. P., you can count upon the Muslim press—*The Star*, *the Aligarh Mail*, *Hamdam*, *Barham* and the *Pioneer* ; in Delhi, you have *Millat* ; in the Punjab, the *Muslim Outlook*, the *Siyasat*, *Inquilab*, the *Muslim Rajput* and the *C. & M. Gazette* ; in Bihar, you have *Ittehad* ; in Bengal, you have the *Statesman* ; in Bombay, you have the *Times of India* ; in Madras, you have the *Madras Mail*—all these papers are ready to give you every chance, and some of them send to England any important statement that you and the people of your school of thought may wish to make. It is for you to discover other papers and give them a little encouragement and expression of sympathy, and you will find in India you get as good a press to help you as any other school of political thought.

I agree with you that your trouble is that press agencies are believed to be anti-Muslim. This defect is being examined and the

Hon'ble Malik Firoz Khan's effort to start a Muslim News Agency deserves careful consideration. I understand that a scheme, limited to a Press Agency, with a capital of 5 Lakhs, to which Muslims in British Jndia should contribute 2 Lakhs, is feasible. Out of this sum of 2 Lakhs, the U. P. should contribute half a lakh. A strong Press Agency is an urgent need. Do you think it is possible to have shareholders to the extent of half a lakh in the U. P. ? I presume only half the amount will be paid in on taking the shares.

From letters received, I find that Muslims have decided to have no more Conferences of their own, because even the Lucknow Conference of Nationalist Muslims has shown that they are in general agreement with their co-religionists, and even on the question of the mode of election, they feel that separate electorates are inevitable unless there is adult franchise. We know that adult franchise is not practical politics at this stage according to the views of Indian leaders. Thus, there is no difference of opinion in Muslim ranks.

Next June, in case leading Muslims come to Simla to talk matters over, it will perhaps be possible for you also to come. I remember what you had told me on the subject, and at a suitable opportunity I hope to be able to do the needful.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

110.

Private And Confidential

5th May, 1931.

Dear Shafee,

Your telegram just to hand. I think you are right. It is too late to postpone and no satisfactory explanation could be given. I wish you success on the 10th May demonstration in spite of the Delhi Conference resolutions.

I am awaiting to hear what happened at Bhopal in case you went there. I understand Shaukat Ali, Ansari, Iqbal and others are invited

for the 9th instant at Bhopal. I am informed that Shaukat asked Gandhi to approach Muslims through Bhopal and so Gandhi approached Bhopal who is now inviting you and others from time to time to hold consultations.

It is understood that there are intrigues within intrigues going on. As I always said Muslim cause in the past has never been lost through soldiers but through generals who acted dishonestly. I trust history will not repeat itself in the case of Indian Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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111. Private And Confidential

Simla,
6th May, 1931.

Dear Nazim-ud-Din,

The Hartog Committee which sat as educational committee to assist the Simon Commission recommended that the All-India Educational Board be revived and that the Bureau of Education be set up. I have held that view since 1924 soon after the Inchcape Committee had axed the Board. It is needed badly by the provinces and when I issued the circular letter recently I thought I was meeting a keenly felt demand of Educational Ministers throughout India. On seeing the case this morning I found that the Educational Secretary of the Bengal Government had written a few lines saying that owing to financial stringency they will not be able to bear the expenses. I am afraid you have not examined the matter carefully. So far as expenses are concerned there will be one or two meetings in a year and local Governments will not have to bear any expenses other than the travelling allowance of their representatives only, and that as a rule will be a few hundred rupees a year and not even a few thousands. As to financial stringency it is only when there is a financial stringency that officers have time to deal with difficult problems and prepare schemes for better days to come. I am sure if you think over the matter carefully you would like to reconsider the matter and welcome the proposal as has been done by the Punjab, the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Assam. In case you are

prepared to do so let me know and I will ask the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India to write again to the Bengal Government pointing out that financial commitments of local Governments will be very very small indeed and requesting the Bengal Government to let us have their considered view. If, however, you have any serious objection to the Board or the Bureau I should like to understand it so as to try to meet it.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, C. I. E.,
Minister for Education,
Bengal Government.

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112.

Lahore,
14th May, 1931.

My dear Fazli,

I returned only this morning.

Which do you think of the following proposals ——?

1. Joint Electorates to be introduced at the end of 10 years with adult suffrage, provided that if the majority of Muslim members of any legislature, Federal or Provincial, agree to accept Joint Electorates at any time before the expiry of 10 years, Separate Electorates will be abolished *qua* such legislature.
2. First election under the new constitution to be on the basis of Separate Electorates at the beginning of the 5th year of the first legislature.

Please drop a line as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

P. S.

I should have come to Simla, but am not feeling well. We had to be up till after midnight almost every night.

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113.

16th May, 1931.

Dear Shafee,

Yours of the 14th from Meerut. I see no harm in your holding a meeting of the Working Committee in Lahore ; but I have always taken the view that meetings should be held in public places where such exist. However a meeting on the 24th instant at Lahore at Shafi's house should be confirmed. Kindly let me know at once who are members of the Working Committee. Firoz will send you a note on the proposals and indicate the lines to be taken up in the main. We should take the line that we should adhere to the Delhi Conference resolutions. As to the mode of election we should leave it to the Muslims to decide in each province. The best way to decide is by three-fourth majority of the Muslim members of a legislature. If such a majority decides in favour of joint electorates and their decision is confirmed by the Muslim members of the next Conference separate electorates shall be abandoned.

This proviso has the advantage of leaving the decision in the hands of Muslims themselves as it was always intended that it should be, and in the second place enables local option in the sense that if the members so desire in the case of a local lagislature there is no reason why the rest of India should stand in the way of this. This opportunity should be taken to emphasise that all attempts at dealing with the problems piecemeal are open to objection, that the Congress or Mr. Gandhi should state their position as to weightage in the six provinces and the central legislature and as to majorities in Bengal and Punjab, and it is only when a responsible person or a responsible organisation makes an offer that Muslims should be prepared to consider it and express their opinion, that Muslim energy should not be wasted on setting fantastic enquiries at the suggestions of individuals. By doing so Muslims tend to weaken their position.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

114. 23rd May, 1931.

Dear Shafee Daoodi,

Yours of the 20th inst.

I am very pleased to hear of the great success achieved in Calcutta. I am glad you are now adopting what is the real Indian Muslim view, and I trust you will impress it strongly and frankly on the minds of all your co-workers. You should glory in it and not be apologetic about it. It hurt me a great deal in Delhi to see so many friends entertaining doubts and adopting a hesitating attitude. I am glad that has very largely disappeared.

I am sure you and others will impress on the mind of Maulana Shaukat Ali how great and genuine is the Muslim feeling, and that he should consider himself very fortunate to be in a position to appreciate this feeling and to be its representative. Indian Muslims have done remarkably well in giving unstinted support to him. When he comes to Simla, he should wait upon His Excellency as Mr. Gandhi did. He should further exert himself in convincing all his friends, including the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, of the genuineness of the Muslim feeling and see that the Nawab Sahib profits by holding the same views as the other Indian Muslims.

Herewith a statement which you and your friends might find of some use. There is nothing new in it, but it sums up the ideas that are entertained by thoughtful Mussalmans.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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115. 23rd May, 1931.

Your Highness,

Thanks very much for your kind letter of the 1st May. I showed it to His Excellency, and I am sure your wishes will be carried out. I need hardly add that your selection is sound and good.

Mr. Gandhi, in a moment of thoughtlessness, when talking to Muslim representatives at Delhi last April, threw out a challenge as to the divided opinions among the Muslims, and asked them to present

a united demand, and so on. This put the Muslims on their mettle, with the result that throughout the length and breadth of India Muslims stand to-day united and also excited. They demand their rightful position in the future Legislatures of the country, and they demand that they shall have separate electorates and would give them up when they feel they can, and not when they are called upon to do so by Mr. Gandhi or anybody else. As a matter of fact, when Lord Irwin was leaving Bombay, he realised the strength of Muslim feeling, and this was reflected in the reply he gave to the Muslim Address there at his departure.

All the Muslim members who were there last year have had talks with me, and I feel Indian Muslims cannot thank you sufficiently for all you did. I know how very difficult it must have been to keep such heterogeneous set of people in order and invest them with some sort of unity ; but of one thing I am sure that no one could have done better than you, and I feel happy that you will be there to look after the Indian Muslim interests. All Local Governments and the Government of India have been very considerate of Muslim interests up to a point, and I know there are large sections of British public opinion which want to do all they can to help Indian Muslims. However, I entrust the whole matter, which is extremely important, to your care.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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116. Simla,
30th May, 1931.

Dear Iqbal,

Yours just to hand.

I had expected you to come to Simla and had asked Firoz to bring you with him. You must really become more and more active every day.

I think you did very well in the Working Committee meeting, and I trust this will enable you to patch up a sort of reconciliation between Congress Muslims and other Muslims. In fact, I see from the papers that just as Gandhi asked Muslims to come to him united, so the idea is spreading in England that Indians—Hindus and Muslims—should come to England united. This will give the right formula to His Highness the Nawab Sahib to present to Gandhi, and, on the basis of it, to settle first the matter of the six minority provinces—Madras, U. P., C. P., Bihar & Orissa and Assam, weightage being allowed in the case of the first four provinces is not objected to by the vast majority of the Hindus of these provinces ; and in the case of Assam there is no weightage to speak of. This will leave Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab. I have not included Bombay in the above-mentioned list because of the possible separation of Sind ; and the matter of Bengal and the Punjab is a bit controversial and can be settled when the matter of the first 5 mentioned provinces has been finished. As a matter of fact, that can be followed up by a similar statement in the case of the Frontier Province. When this is done, we should try to come to a settlement about Bengal, and lastly about the Punjab. Anyhow, we should stand firm, for therein lies the secret of success.

You will be surprised to see this cutting from *Hamdam*. How anxious people are to create mischief !

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

117.

The Retreat,
Simla,
30th May, 1931.

Dear Showkat,

Thanks for letting me know that you will be coming to Simla on the 7th. I suppose you are meeting at Bhopal on the 4th. The Conference Working Committee at Lahore have hammered out a formula which seems to be quite sound. All Muslims are agreed that the mode of their representation is their own concern and that any change in

the present mode of representation should be in accordance with the Muslims themselves. The formula says that final decision on the subject must rest on referendum, on the views of the electorate, if the majority of Muslim representatives in any province so desire, or if a certain percentage of the voters ask for it. It is not quite clear how any one could object to it, except on the ground of the trouble involved in obtaining the opinion of the electorate. This, however, is not a very serious objection. The alternative proposal is to leave it to a special majority of the Muslim representatives in any Legislature; their decision to be confirmed by the Muslim representatives in the next Council. We all want peace and concord amongst Muslims, and if either of the alternatives succeeds in doing that, I am sure the Indian Muslims will be grateful to those who have worked to bring it about.

Your tour has been very successful. There is nothing like *khidmat* of the people to obtain their confidence. May God help us all not to betray the confidence the people repose in us. All who have seen me have spoken very highly of your work.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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118. Simla,
8th June, 1931.

Dear Lord Irwin,

I was delighted to read your letter of the 19th May. I can well appreciate the extraordinarily difficult position you occupy in England when trying to enlighten the British public and at the same time making sure that in your effort to do so you are not prejudicing either the policy of the Government at home or the administrative action of the authorities in India, but the reports I saw of your speech in Indian papers showed that it satisfied these difficult requirements very well indeed.

Gandhi's visit to Simla and Naini Tal seems to have created a greater stir in England than here, and the press there seems to indulge

in broadcasting events which never occurred. That's a pity. Gandhi's visit, from his point of view as well as from ours, can be said to be, on the whole, a success. It certainly was not a failure.

I myself do not attach much importance to the work of the Round Table Conference not commencing in the beginning of July and its now having been put down for the beginning of September. Two months' delay means nothing, especially when the Congress was not keen that it should be resumed in July. As a matter of fact, all parties here, including the Princes, feel that they do not know much about the problem which they have to discuss, and see difficulties which they had not seen before, and which possibly may not be there when they come to tackle the problem. For the moment, however, everybody seems to be obsessed with the idea of difficulties ahead. This has, no doubt, a sobering effect, but one never knows when that sobering effect may develop into pessimism.

You make mention of the Hindu-Muslim differences as to the mode and extent of representation in the Legislature. I am afraid we are no nearer an agreement than we were when you were here. In fact, the position taken up by Gandhi in the beginning of April rendered the chances of agreement more remote than ever, and the agitation carried on since then has tended to broaden the gulf. I see grave danger ahead. Already, Muslims, piqued by this attitude on the part of Mr. Gandhi, and on account of the speeches made by the Hindus of the Frontier Province and of the Punjab, proceeded to emphasise the position that they always took—that they do not want any responsibility at the centre unless their present proportion of representation is guaranteed to them in the Central Legislature and in the Six Provincial Legislatures, and majorities in Bengal and the Punjab. The Hindu attitude, as reflected in the Hindu papers just now, is: 'Why should we strive to arrive at an agreement with Muslims. The Prime Minister has declared that there shall be responsibility at the centre. Instead of agreeing to Muslims having weightage, &c., let us do nothing and let the British Government give them weightage, &c., and we will then be in a position to protest against it, and thus, on having power, be entitled to do away with it.' The Hindu papers argue: 'If we let the Muslims have weightage

and majorities now under separate electorates, we shall not be able to get rid of them later, but if the British Government imposes these on us, we shall be justified in throwing them overboard at the earliest possible opportunity'. This position they are able to take up because they feel assured that Prime Minister's declaration guarantees responsibility at the centre.

Muslims, on the other hand, argue that they want no responsibility whatsoever at the centre in view of the feeling of hostility displayed by the Majority community, that the Prime Minister's declaration does not amount to very much; and that the mentality disclosed by the majority community even at this stage of India's political evolution is such that they cannot place any trust in it in the future when the majority community has real power, and so they should not hesitate to oppose frankly the political advance. I am afraid Mr. Gandhi does not keep himself well-informed as to what is happening amongst those who are opposed to him, while his friends give him optimistic estimates of the future.

I have, until now, kept fairly well, but my bad months are August and September.

Now that the Federal Structure Sub-Committee is fixed for the beginning of September, it is not likely that the Round Table Conference will be over before Christmas time. My South African Conference was fixed for the beginning of December. This I cannot agree to now, as I want Shastri and Corbett to be on the Delegation. I have asked His Excellency to request the Prime Minister to send a private Message to General Hertzog asking him to put off the Conference from the first week of December to the first week of January. I hope he has done it or will do it; otherwise, I do not know what sort of Delegation I can take to South Africa.

Those who are going to London next August will have opportunities of meeting you, but those like me who are debarred from serving on the Round Table Conference cannot look forward to that pleasure.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

119 Simla,
8th June, 1931.

Dear Ziauddin,

Yours of the 4th and its enclosure.

Ganga Ram *Khanna* (?) Ram and I were together in the Govt. College in 1893. He was in the second year, while I was in the first. He has changed very little since then. He is a fine fellow, and I rather like him. This is probably the second gold medal he intended giving to the Prime Minister. I believe he had actually given him one some years ago.

So Abdul Ghaffar is now in Bardoli, receiving instructions from Mr. Gandhi. When he returns, you had better have a talk with him to find out what his instructions are. Probably, he will receive some scolding for his foolish attitude in the matter of seeing Government officials, while Mr. Gandhi is glad to see a Collector or even a Deputy Collector. Abdul Ghaffar Khan is alleged to have been avoiding meeting the Dy. Commissioner, the Commissioner or even the Chief Commissioner. I wonder if this is true. You might privately inquire from him. If this is true, the man is an utter fool. If it is not, then why not arrange that he comes in touch with the Frontier officials, and advise him to keep in touch with them in the future if he wants really to serve his people.

How is the work of your Committee progressing ? and how do you like your colleagues ? Hookam Chand is an old class fellow of mine. We were together at Cambridge too. Give him my salaams.

I trust you are all working with the object of doing two things : The first and foremost, what is in the best interest of the province, and, secondly, as far as possible, to meet the public demand. I need hardly add that to me the first is the real object. When are you likely to finish.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

120 The Retreat,
Simla,
20th June, 1931.

Dear Malik Sahib,

Yours of the 12th inst., also sending me certain correspondence.

I accept your selection that the memorial be after the pattern of the memorial for the grave of Agha Shamsuddin Shah executed and selected Sicilian marble mounted on solid worked stone landing, estimated cost £ 45.10.0.

As to the inscription, no doubt, at the top you will have

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

and at the end

انا لله و انا اليه راجعون

Things here are in a fair way. The Congress is occupied in bluffing. They have treated Indian Muslims very badly. There are no Muslims in the Congress fold who are strong enough to persuade the Congress to act in a just and righteous manner. We should do our best to see that India affords scope for free and self-respecting Muslims to live in it. A great and onerous duty devolves upon the British Parliament to see that justice is done to all and India saved from possible chaos, but if we have to pass through the stage of chaos, the sooner the better.

I will bear in mind what you have said as to suggestions for additional representation of Muslims in case it is called for.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Confidential

121 Altamont Villa II,
Darjeeling, the 20th June, 1931.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am extremely sorry for the unpardonable delay in replying to your letter. I find in going through the file that our objection to the

proposal is based on two grounds—firstly want of funds and secondly in our opinion we are doubtful about its proving very useful to the province. As far as the first is concerned unfortunately the Government of India do not realise the gravity of the financial position of Bengal. During the last two years we cannot get any money for any new recurring expenditure unless it is absolutely urgent or inevitable. This year we have to borrow about a crore of rupees for our ordinary expenditure. Although the amount required is small yet it is useless to go up to Government for sanction as it will be turned down immediately by the Finance Department and other members of Government. On the question of the utility of a Central Organisation I am of opinion that the co-ordination between the various provinces can be effected by means of the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India and very little benefit will result by the establishment of the Central Advisory Bureau of Education.

I would very much like to have agreed to the proposal in view of the interests taken by you in it but I know for a fact that the Government of Bengal will not agree to the new recurring expenditure on this account at the present time. You cannot realise how hard up we are and how difficult it is for us to carry on.

You promised to visit Eastern Bengal during July and August. I would request you very much to kindly come as proposed by you when you were in Calcutta. There is a great deal of confusion of thought among the Mussalmans of Bengal and if they can get an opportunity of meeting you it will be possible for you to solve most of their doubts and bring about unanimity amongst them. If you decide to come please let me know beforehand so that the people of Eastern Bengal give you a fitting reception.

Yours sincerely
Nazimuddin

The Hon'ble Sir M. Fazl-i-Husain, K. C. I. E.,
The Retreat,
Simla.

Private & confidential

122 The Retreat,
Simla.
25th June, 1931.

My dear Nazimuddin,

Yours of the 20th.

Bombay has agreed to join in, so only the two provinces left out are Bengal and Madras. I am afraid the financial implications of the proposals, so far as Bengal revenues are concerned, have not been made quite clear in our letter, because they amount to nothing more than the travelling allowance of your representative which, I understand, would be between Rs. 300/- and Rs. 500/- a year, and you won't convince anybody by saying that out of your ordinary contingencies of the Education Department, Rs. 300/- in a year could not be found, However, it is a matter for you to decide, but it does seem a pity that in a scheme like this, Bengal should be one of the two provinces holding out.

I remember my promise of coming to Bengal during the Monsoon weather and intended to carry it out but your letter under reply, though pressing me to come places me in a rather awkward position because if I come and you have to accompany me, it will involve the province in a great deal of cost of your travelling which will run into a figure covering more than 5 years' travelling allowance of your officer on the proposed Education Board of the Govt. of India. How would it do for you to do half the travelling with me and let the other half stand over to pay for the Education Board travelling allowance for the remaining term of your office before the new reforms come in.

With best wishes,

I remain

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

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123. 29th June, 1931.

Dear Showkat Ali,

I was very sorry indeed that your visit and the visits of so many leading men should have coincided with my being in bed. I was very

much put out about it. I got up to attend a meeting of the Executive Council the day I met you coming from the Viceregal Lodge and I heard that you had left the same day. I was very sorry indeed not to have had an opportunity of a talk. I trust Providence will give us an opportunity in the near future.

I am extremely sorry to hear that some people, out of sheer mischief, are trying to create misapprehension in the minds of two Muslims. I should like to be able to serve the Muslim, high-placed or otherwise, and I should never like to do anything which might, however remotely, do any injury or harm to any one. I am, therefore, asking you, in case there is any misapprehension or misunderstanding so far as I am concerned, to let me know to enable me to tell you whether there is any foundation for it or not and also to enable you to prevent mischief being done.

I heard your daughter was not very well. Please let me know how she is.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

———

124 29th June, 1931.

My dear Umar Hayat,

Thanks very much for yours of the 19th.

Assuming all that you have said is true, it only means that there may have been a motive but there is no evidence of anything sinister contemplated or done by the Doctor or the boys. There is a Tribunal above in a better position to deal with wrong-doers in case there were any, and no useful purpose can be served by instituting inquiries as there are no data, no evidence, no material, which can help inquiries in any way, so we had better drop the matter there.

As regards Naim's tomb, & c., I have already informed you that I accept your decision and wish that to be carried out.

As regards reforms, & c., the Muslim mind is very much agitated. At present the responsibility rests with the British Parliament for ruling India justly and efficiently, and yet the Cawnpore tragedy has

been enacted. This has inflamed the Muslim mind a great deal. Incidents like those of Benarcs and Cawnpore and elsewhere where Muslims have acted in the exercise of their lawful rights and have been victimised by the Congress and its supporters for not joining the civil disobedience movement, and the failure of the authorities to protect the law-abiding citizens in the exercise of their trading rights, have shocked the Muslims. I hope there will be no serious reactions, but if there are, there will be a conflagration which no power, however mighty it may be, could quench.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

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125 29th June, 1931.

Dear Shafee Daoodi,

I am sorry I was not able to see you the day you left. I trust you are quite well. I am much better now.

You never told me about the Carnatic family pension matter. Please let me know whether the drafts I gave you are satisfactory so that action in pursuance thereof may take place.

We should try to strengthen the Conference organization by your having a paid man at the headquarters, i. e., Patna, and you should also make plans for taking deputations round to important places, especially whenever a Provincial Conference is being held, as for example the forth-coming one at Dacca. Funds for this purpose have to be secured.

When are you likely to come to Simla next ?

I think the Working Committee of the Conference has now fully apprehended the matter—it was a mistake to hold conversations between the Conference and some Muslims who hold different views. The only organization which can hold conversations with the Conference is the Congress itself and also in the position of one who makes offers not in order to invite offers. Again, when anybody wants to have conversations, the matter to settle first is a list of the points on which the two parties agree. Those points should be fully

and precisely stated and published, and then those points on which opinions differ should be clearly and fully stated and the opinions of each side also mentioned, and then effort should be made to arrive at a compromise. I hope you will bear this in mind and also impress the importance of these principles on all your friends.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

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126 29th June, 1931.

Dear Ghuznavi,

Thanks for your letter just received.

I am very glad indeed to hear that arrangements for the Muslim Conference are getting on very nicely. I hope and trust you and Abdullah and Shahid will all go and contribute to make a thorough success of it. There is nothing like a combination when a common danger is threatening you all. Hold together. I have been praying to God that Bengal Muslims become strong and that those who are filling posts of authority should serve the cause of the people they are intended to serve. Now is the time for you all to prove that my prayers have been heard.

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

Private

127 Brook Hill House,
Naini Tal.
July 3, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I had been thinking of writing to you for some time but, partly on account of indisposition and partly on account of heavy work in connection with retrenchment, I could not do so.

The result of the conference between the so called nationalist Muslims and the representatives of the rest of the community is out. I never expected them to come to any settlement. The position taken

up by Maulana Shaukat Ali and others seems to me quite correct which amounts to this, "Don't interfere. Give the community the right to decide their fate by referendum as they like". If self determination has any meaning then no body can doubt the correctness of their position. And their can be no stronger proof than this of the fact that it is Maulana Shaukat Ali and others who have the backing of the community and not the so called nationalist Muslims, although the views expressed by Dr. Ansari in his presidential address at Faridpore the other day are not very much different from those which others not belonging to his group hold.

I have briefly given my own impressions about it and shall be very glad to have the benefit of your views, of course quite privately on this question. It is necessary in my opinion that the Muslims should chalk out their programme for the next session of the Round Table Conference.

Trusting that you are well, and with kindest regards,

Yours Sincerely,
Ahmad Said,

Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain Sahib, KCIE, KT.
Simla.

128

The Taj Mahal Hotel,
Bombay,
4th July, 1931.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

It was very pleasant to receive your letter the other day with its friendly tune that your interest in my immediate and ultimate movements was not "wholly impersonal". Indeed, I expect a "wholly personal" interest in my movements from my friends, even when they happen to be sinister and slandered bureaucrats like you ! Shall I answer your questions categorically and frankly ?

As I have been ill recently, I have to move somewhat warily for a little while and Olympian heights do not come within the prescribed radius for heart trouble. So you will be deprived of shaking me by the hand in the dark-blue month of July in Simla. As for August, I am puzzled about my plans. I have a very tempting

offer from America again to go on a six months' tour with trumpets and banners ! and should I decide to go, I shall start in August or September. As for London in August as an alternative programme, it depends entirely on whether I am invited to offer my surpassingly true and valuable help and advice to gray-haired statesmen or not. I do not think that you visualise me as *occompanying* any one, even the great and world-shattering little Mahatma in any merely advisory or accessory capacity ! Should a Congress delegation decide to go, then I daresay I shall be automatically one of thē delegation. Otherwise, of course, I can only grace the foggy metropolis of London in my personal but nevertheless representative capacity as the Wise Woman of the East !.

I hope that your health is really better now and that all the evil incantations against you do not take effect ! Please give my love to your wife and the girls. Lelamani still mourns for the loss of her special friend. You know what great friends your son and she were at Lahore.

I have a Working Committee on the 7th and the decisions lie in the closed fist of the Gods.

All kind greetings from
Sarojini Naidu.

———

129 Simla.
My dear Lord Irwin, 6th July, 1931.

Many thanks for your letter of the 26th June,

Things are getting very confused indeed, I believe, in England no less than here. There is an epidemic of confusion apparently. Everybody seems to be more interested in creating troubles than in removing obstacles. I am afraid Gandhi is very much involved, and I cannot believe he can be either happy or hopeful. Hindu-Muslim differences are worse than they have ever been before, and a stage is reached where they take opposite sides of the problem irrespective of the merits of it. That is deplorable. Still, no one can help it.

You might have heard of Dr. Ansari's proposals at Faridpore. He has adopted the Muslim Conference programme, except as to the

mode of election, and weightage to Muslims under certain circumstances. Now, what is the use of Ansari making these proposals unless the Working Committee of the Congress accept his proposals. If they do not, the matter is nowhere nearer solution. In case they adopt them, then, practically, only the question of the mode of election is left in dispute, and I do not see His Majesty's Government can have any difficulty in the way of adopting the suggestion contained in your Despatch on reforms last year, i. e., including machinery for bringing in joint electorates in the future whenever Muslims feel reassured on the subject. I wonder whether you would care to advise Gandhi not to spoil things by accentuating Hindu-Muslim differences or by letting Hindu-Muslim differences get accentuated. I understand he is wise enough to see the mistake of it, but that his Cabinet which includes men of rather extremist views against Muslims will not let him move in the matter.

Arrangements for my South African Delegation are progressing. Shastri has definitely agreed, and I believe Corbett has almost definitely agreed.

I trust Lord Clarendon will be as helpful as Lord Althone was.

Have you by any chance met His Highness the Aga Khan? Don't you think he is the most suitable man to be the head of the Muslim part of the British Indian Delegation? He seems to be in some doubt as to the ultimate intentions of the British people. Well, I suppose the British people have no mind on the Indian question in the sense that they know what ought to be done. As a matter of fact, one is not quite sure whether His Majesty's Government know exactly what they want. Therefore, none of us can be sure as to what line to take with a view to bring about a successful settlement. Under the circumstances, the line I have always taken is to do what I feel is right, and not to pay the slightest attention to what others think is right or wrong, because I can never feel sure that in these days politicians always mean what they say. However, I think Indian Muslims may count on your support when they are in London, and, within reason, I have not the slightest doubt you will be ready to give them all the help you can.

Please convey the best wishes of my wife and daughters to

Lady Irwin.

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

The Right Hon'ble Edward Frederick Lindley Wood,
Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., P. C.,
88, Raton Square,
London, S. W., (England).

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130 The Retreat, Simla.
6th July, 1931.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I am extremely sorry to hear that you have been indisposed, and I can naturally sympathise with any one who has not been well because I myself have been laid up for many days recently. I trust you are now quite well.

As to communal matters, I am glad you have already noticed that what Dr. Ansari has stated to be his proposals at the Faridpore conference consist in a repetition of the All-Parties Muslim Conference proposals, except in two respects :-

(1) extent of representation in the minority provinces. i. e., U. P., Bihar, Madras, Bombay, C. P., Assam ; and

(2) Mode of representation.

As to extent of representaion in the Punjab and Bengal, it would appear that there is no difference, but then Dr. Ansari has not stated that these are the opinions held by all the Muslim Congress-men Again, even if they are held by the Muslim Congressmen, that is not much use unless they are also held by the Working Committee of the Congress and are acceptable to the Hindus and his Majesty's Government. Dr. Ansari and his Congress Muslim friends should urge upon the Working Committee of the Congress to adopt their proposals. If they succeed and there is a fairly good agreement in the country, both Congress and Muslims should press the British Government to accept them, but there are very many obstacles in the way, and those obstacles should be overcome by the Congress. Indian Muslims cannot afford to go on presenting alternative

demands and making themselves generally ridiculous. I entirely agree with you that it is necessary for the Muslims going to the Round Table Conference to chalk out their own programme. I trust action will be taken in that direction.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

Capt. Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari.

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131 The Retreat, Simla.
6th July, 1931.

My dear Aga Khan,

I am most thankful to you for yours of the 5th June, and I very well appreciate the soundness of the position you have indicated therein. Muslims are not in a position to make any offers or to take up any attitude other than that taken up in general terms in the Conference Resolution when you presided over it. The mistake made at the last Round Table Conference, if I may be permitted to say so, lay in the Muslims taking the initiative to bring about a settlement. The initiative must come from the majority community, and after some efforts, we are moving in that direction. The Muslim position in India is, on the whole, satisfactory. Indian Muslims stand united under the Delhi Conference Resolution. All efforts to dislodge them have failed. Dr. Ansari has now put forward certain proposals, and the difference lies mainly, though not entirely, in the mode of election; but Dr. Ansari's proposals carry no weight unless they have the support of the Congress, and the Congress has not committed itself to supporting them. What we want is some proposals which have the support of the Congress and are acceptable not only to us but also to His Majesty's Government. We cannot give up the position which we occupy at present merely in the hope that Gandhi may try to persuade the Hindu community to agree to them, or in the belief that His Majesty's Government will endorse them.

We all suffer from this very great difficulty—we do not know

where His Majesty's Government or the British Parliament mean to make a stand. I do not believe they know it themselves. Therefore, it is necessary that Muslims should not enthuse over anything whether it is central responsibility, or Dominion status or Simon proposals, or no advance. Situated as we are, we cannot do anything but to watch, and seeing the trend of events, mould our policy in the best interests of the community and the country.

I am very glad indeed to hear that you have decided to be in India after the Round Table Conference is finished. Your presence here will be of the utmost value to Indian Muslims. I may not be here at the time, very much to my regret, because I may have to lead the Indian Delegation to South Africa, but I have not the slightest doubt that Indian Muslims will, with one voice, welcome you, and your presence here will enable them to cement various schools of thought.

With the best of wishes,

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.,
Ritz Hotel,
Piccadilly, London, W.I.

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132 The Retreat, Simla.
15th July, 1931.

My dear Mrs. Naidu,

I am sorry to hear you have been recently ill, but therein I have been keeping your company from a distance. I was myself in bed about 10 days in June and have not been very well during this month.

So, you are not coming to Simla. That's a pity. Still, it is worth knowing that you contemplate a trip outside India. I do not see how Mr. Gandhi can be in England without you. Still, how can I be in the know? All I can say is that if I were going to the Round Table Conference to represent the Congress, I would not go without you.

You talk of evil incantations against me. Why, your party

seems to be obsessed with their own creation of me as a 'God of Destruction'. Frankly, I cannot say the Working Committee has acted wisely. As an outsider, I cannot understand how it managed to bungle the whole affair. But, mind you, this is the view of an outsider. There may be plently of justification for the line it has taken, and my criticism may be entirely due to my ignorance of those circumstances. It seems to me that heart without head is not a safe guide, and head without heart is also dangerous. What the country and your Committee which aspires to lead the country need is a combination of the two, preferably, in a few individuals, and the bringing together of individuals, each possessing a head or a heart, can never make up for the lack of those who possess both.

As you are so good as to give me the privilege of a friend, taking personal interest in your movements, may I expect to be informed as soon as your porgramme for the next few months is settled?

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay.

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133. 20th July, 1931.

Dear Sir Akbar,

I understand you are sailing on the 15th of August. I wish you a pleasant passage and safe return after a very successful session of the Round Table Conference.

I suppose the assistance which you said it had been decided upon to give to the All-India Muslim Conference has actually been given. I have not heard from the Secretary of the Institution saying that he has received any assistance.

A young man, Mr. Majid Malik, from Flemming Road, Thandi Khui, Lahore, says that you need a good Journalist to assist Mr. Pickthall who has been Director of the Information Bureau there. If so, I can only say that I have formed a good opinion

of Mr. Majid Malik as a hard-working, enthusiastic and capable Journalist. He has now experience of journalism extending over 3 to 4 years.

I trust your daughter-in-law is now quite well. She has not been keeping good health during the last year or so.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

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134. Simla.
27th July, 1931.

Dear Mieville,

This morning I received the accompanying telegram. Intimation received from different people in India shows that the feeling is growing very strong amongst Indian Muslims against the inclusion of Ali Imam. It does not seem worth while to me to embitter the Muslim feeling already very much embittered by the Congress Working Committee's Resolution and the Machiavellian steps taken by them to make out in the Congress press that Muslims are divided between themselves, Like Aga Khan, I do not like the ideas of boycott, &c., developing amongst Muslims. All of us will do as advised by him in this telegram, i. e., stand by what the majority decide. In view of this, I feel it is necessary to tell the Secretary of State how very strong the Muslim feeling in India on the subject is, and my own view is that he should give up the idea of including Ali Imam, but in case he cannot possibly do so, then to appoint the Hundu recommended by His Excellency along with Ali Iman. I believe, in your telegram you have advised this course, but, perhaps, the intensity of the Muslim feeling on the subject has not been sufficiently emphasised. So many unpleasant developments are possible in the event of an erroneous decision that I feel it is worth while letting the Secretary of State know the intensity of the Muslim feeling. I have worried His Ecellency already about this, but my venturing to worry him once more is due to most unpleasent possibilities in case what I consider a wrong decision is announced.

I shall be glad if you will return the enclosure to me when done with.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

H.C Mieville Esq. C.M.G. P.S to H.E. the Viceroy, Simla.

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135 Simla.
28th July, 1931.

My dear Shafaat Ahmad,

Your letters of the 24th and 26th inst.

You seem to be in some sort of haste and are not so calm as you ought to be. In the first place, I have seen no authorized announcement as to the nomination of Ansari or Ali Imam. Again, you must not forget that the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad (may his soul rest in peace) was actually invited last year. Again, whatever lionozing may take place of Gandhi in London, you Muslim members of the Delegation, if you played your cards well, would have a pull over all other communities inasmuch as you have Aga Khan who stands pre-eminently in English public life, and no more popular figure, whether English or Indian, exists there. So, if you held together and acted under Aga Khan's guidance, no harm could possibly come to you. I must say I like a fight—a fight in which I am placed at a little disadvantage as long as the disadvantage is not very great ; and I do not like your being so much frightened either of Ansari or of Ali Imam. As for knowledge of constitutional or political affairs, surely Ansari possesses none. I had admiration for his character and for his motives and was prepared to overlook his views which were due to lack of knowledge, but during the last few weeks he seems to have done his best to convince all his friends and admirers that this partizanship of the Congress has deprived him of any sense of fair-play or propriety.

The Muslim press has already stated that Ali Imam and Ansari should not go as representatives of Muslims. This is the right line to take, and if it is right, there is no reason why it should not succeed.

Yes, I should like you to see me before you go.

How is it that "Hamdam" is veering round to joint-electorates ? Is there an explanation forthcoming ? I myself cannot find one.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

136

Garrowby,
Buckthorpe, York.,
29th July, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazli,

This is only a line to thank you for your letter of the 6th July. I am afraid you have been having a tiresome time lately with Gandhi, and from the telegrams I have seen his attitude seems very uncertain. These further outrages in Bengal will have the effect of exacerbating opinion here as I gather from the cable reports they are also very naturally doing in India.

I have thought a great deal about the Hindu-Muslim business, which seems to grow more difficult. I saw the Aga Khan the other day, and hoped to have been able to have a long talk to him in London but he was not able to get back from the Continent in time. I heard from him, however, a day or two ago suggesting that we should meet as soon as he returned, which I shall endeavour to arrange to do. I should suppose that he would naturally take the lead of the Muslims at the Conference as he did before, and any help that I can give will, as you know, be at the disposal of those who want it.

I had to make two or three speeches last week, which I had been anxious as far as possible to avoid, and I endeavoured to refrain from saying anything that would aggravate your difficulties which are already great enough.

All good wishes to yourself and your family.

Yours sincerely,
Irwin.

Personal

Hyderabad,
Deccan.

137 29th July, 1931.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Many thanks for your letter of the 20th July and for your good wishes for the work which is in front of me in London. I am relying on your holding the Home Front while we are away,

2. The All India Muslim Conference. We sent Rs. 25,000/- to the Nawab of Bhopal early this month to be distributed more or less in accordance with the suggestions you had made ; in the list of the grantees was the All India Muslim Conference. I have written three letters to the Nawab Saheb asking for a list of the authorities to whom he has actually disbursed the money, but he has sent so far only two telegrams. The first one said that he would send me the account in 2 or 3 days ; this was followed by a second one stating that he was down with influeza and that therefore there would be some delay in his sending me the account. I am therefore in the dark as yet as to who has or has not been paid.[1] If you come to know that nothing has been given by Bhopal to the All India Muslim Conference, please inform me and I shall make such interim payment[2] through such channel as you may recommend.

3. Mr. Majid Malik, Flemming Road, Thandi Khui, Lahore. I have passed on his name to Mr. Pickthall, the Director of our Information Bureau. I am sure he will give Mr. Majid Malik's name every consideration.

4. My son gave me a full account of the interesting conversation you had with him just before he left for Hyderabad. You will be interested to hear that the I.D.M. will shortly expire. We have refused it further financial assistance for reasons which you will appreciate and the Paper's continued existence is now as far as I can see a question of days. I would have very much liked to fall in with your advice to come to Simla to inform the Viceroy as to our policy before I sail for England. But I am afraid that is not possible. I wanted to sail on the 8th August, but His Exalted Highness has pressed me to

1. Nothing.
2. 15 through Ab. Hai.

stay in Hyderabad till the last possible moment, and I have, therefore, had to postpone my departure till the boat which is sailing on the 15th. In the circumstances I do not think that my absence away from Hyderabad at this stage would be acceptable to His Exalted Highness. This is the chief, though not the only reason. I have to see my budget through the Executive Council before I leave as well as tie up a good few loose ends and the days of my departure are approaching with alarming rapidity!

5. I am enclosing for your personal and *confidential* information a copy of the Instructions which we have framed for your guidance in London. I would draw your special attention to what we have put down as our "breaking points", and also to the annexure to the instructions regarding the Berars. I trust that we will have your support in regard to our claim to the Berars when, and if, the matter is discussed in Council. So far as you are concerned I need not emphasize the advantage to the Muslims at large in India and the added strength which would be given to a Muslim State by increasing its sphere of influence should our proposals in regard to the Berars be accepted. The Resident here is whole heartedly on our side and is a stout ally.

6. I shall either myself or through Saleh endeavour to keep you informed of the trend of events in London. It would assist me greatly if you could advise Moslem delegates to the Federal Structure Committee from your side to act in concert with Hyderabad in London.

7. Many thanks for your kind enquiry about Sigrid, who has already begun to benefit by the rest and change and will, I hope, completely regain her normal health as a result of the trip to Europe. It is a great comfort to my wife and myself to have my son and daughter-in-law with us in this matter also we have to thank you for making Saleh's deputation easy.

Both of them asked me to send you their kindest regards in which I join,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Akbar Hydari

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139. Private

The Retreat, Simla.
31 July, 1931.

My dear Shafee Daoodi,

Yours of the 28th inst.

I am extremely sorry to hear of your ill health and trust you wlll be able to throw off your fever and recover your strength, for a great deal of the work of the Muslim community at this critical juncture devolves upon you, and it is of the utmost importance that you should keep well and strong.

Thanks for letting me know about the financial position. I trust the requisite financial support will be forth-coming.

Is it right to assume that what the Associated Press says is correct ? There has been no announcement on the subject as to who are to be members of the minority communities or of the Round Table Conference. Therefore, I do not think you are justified in being so pessimistic. No doubt, there is a great deal of force in the position you take up, but can you deny that the Maharajah of Mahmudabad (may his soul rest in peace) was actually nominated a member of the Round Table Conference, and he was going, and that it was on account of his illness that he did not go, and that he was not of the same school of thought as the Conference members ? It is true that he was not in the Congress, but still he was not with the Muslim Conference either. On the other hand, Muslims have, during the past few months, shown how sound and straight they are, how strong the Muslim feeling in India is in support of the Conference, and to that extent, I believe, Gandhi has done service to the Muslim community, viz., in bringing about solidarity and demonstration of that solidarity.

You say you have invited Round Tablers to consider the question of the boycott of the Conference under certain contingencies. Well, since Aga Khan has taken the right constitutional position, (1) you should wait till you know the facts ; (2) in case the facts are such that you feel that on matters of principle you are so prejudiced as to consider the question of boycott which now you recognise is an extreme political measure, then it is open to you to discuss the matter

privately and confidentially, examine its pros and cons and then see whether you should adopt it or not. I would suggest that even if you get a bare majority agreeing to boycott, even then you should not announce such a decision or make it in any way public, because you have not heard the absentee members. They may agree with you after arguing, or you may agree with them after arguing. This consideration leads one to the conclusion that on the whole it would be best to discuss a matter like this when all or almost all members are present, and then arrive at a decision, and not when only some of them are present. I shall be glad to hear if there are any new developments.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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140. The Retreat, Simla.

5th August, 1931.

Dear Sir Akbar,

Yours of the 29th July.

On inquiries made from Maulvi Md. Shafee Daoodi, Secretary, All-Parties Muslim Conference, it is found that nothing has been paid to him or to the Conference ; so, I have sent you information as desired by you saying that the Conference needs at least Rs. 10,000/-. This can be paid to the Conference either direct to Maulvi Shafee Daoodi, Secretary of the Conference, or through the Hon'ble Malik Firoz Khan Noon, or through Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., of Karachi ; and a further sum of Rs. 5,000/- is badly needed for dissemination of news in which Muslim India Is particularly interested. Arrangements for this are being made by the Hon'ble Malik Firoz Khan, and this amount can be sent to him for this particular work.

I have read with great interest the enclosures to your letter. The instructions are very important and they mark a definite stage in the evolution of the scheme.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

141.

Finance Member, Nizam's
Government, Hyderabad Daccan.
6th August, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

In reply to your telegram of the 5th August I sent you the following telegram yesterday :-

"Reply your telegram fifth Muslim Conference follows by post. Hydari."

I received a letter from the Nawab of Bhopal dated the 31st July in which he promised to let me know in the course of a day or two the distribution of the sum of Rs. 25,000/- placed at his disposal towards the objects mentioned in the enclosure to my letter to you of June 18th copy of which I am sending herewith for ready reference. I am anxiously waiting for his letter and will take suitable action as soon as I hear from him. As you will readily understand we have to hold our hand without knowing how the Nawab Saheb has in actual fact distributed the money.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Akbar Hydari

142.

The Retreat, Simla.
10th August, 1931.

Dear Mrs. Naidu,

You promised to let me know your programme as soon as it was settled, but I notice from the papers that you are sailing for England by the next boat (P & O). If this is so, then I hasten to wish you a safe and pleasant passage, and a very happy and successful time in London.

I suppose, in the ordinary course, the Round Table Conference will keep you in London right up to some time in December. I am trying to constitute an Indian Delegation to South Africa. Do you think 'the Wise woman of the East' will be able to try her great wisdom and wonderful tact with the Delegation of the Self-governing Dominion of South Africa, if requested to do so? The subject as you know, is not only extremely difficult but also exceptionally deiicate and needs very, very careful handling indeed. I myself know verÝ

little of the subject. I feel, therefore, a very great need indeed of those who know it well.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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143. **By Air Mail**

The Retreat, Simla.
10th August, 1931.

My dear Aga Khan,

I am much obliged to you for your telegrams and for all the efforts you have been making in supporting the Muslim cause. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee, the Minorities Committee and the Round Table Conference now are all re-constituted. Muslims here feel that there might have been another Muslim on the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, but I do not think any effort should now be made to have one brought on. In fact, it would be best to treat the Committees as finally made and no new man should be put on them except when it is to fill a vacancy which has occurred since they were formed.

On the whole, the Committees are fair. Muslims here have expressed a certain amount of resentment at the inclusion of Sir Ali Imam, but then, last year the Maharaja of Mahmudabad was included and it was only on account of illness that he was not able to attend; so, the inclusion of Sir Ali Imam cannot be any serious grievance. Moreover, Sir Ali Imam has not always been identified with the Congress. It is true that in 1928 he identified himself with the Nehru Report by signing it on trust, and since then he has not identified himself with the Delhi Conference; but I believe it was in 1927, or 1926, that he was at Aligarh very strongly for separate electorates and for Muslim claims, and that created quite a stir in India and a flutter in the Congress Camp. So, when he is in London and is strongly pressed to join the Muslim members, he may revert to his Aligarh position; but to secure his agreement, it will be a mistake to alter anything in the Delhi Conference Resolution. In fact, the view gener-

ally held by Indian Muslims is that no alteration in it should be agreed to ; and if His Majesty's Government make an alteration, it can be submitted to as the order of the Supreme Constitutional Authority, but not by way of agreement, because the proposals are, in fact, the very minimum.

Again, Indian Muslims are anxious that the matter of their representation in local and central Legislatures, both as to mode and amount, be settled by His Majesty's Government before the Federal Structure Sub-Committee makes any progress. This matter, however, you will be able to settle when the members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee reach you. I trust you will be in London when the Committee meets, at all events, to give them a start. Jinnah will not be there ; so, there will be 4 members—Shafi, Sultan Ahmad—the old members—, and Shafaat and Zafarullah—the new members. Indian Muslims feel that if the work of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee is completed, and the matter of the mode and amount of Muslim representation in local and central Legislatures is not decided, non-Muslims will exert very considerable influence on His Majesty's Government to prejudice the Government in arriving at a decision.

All this will involve a great deal of work for you, but of one thing I am certain that all the Muslim members will place themselves entirely at your disposal and have great faith in your judgment, love of Islam and fair-play to do so.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

His Highness the Aga Khan,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.,
Ritz Hotel,
Piccadilly,
London.

144. The Retreat, Simla.
10th August, 1931.

Dear Shafaat Ahmad,

I suppose now you must be busy getting ready. I trust you have with you the Conference Resolutions passed by the Jamiat-i-Ulma of Maulana Kifayat Ali and Maulana Ahmad Said. Gandhi and the Congress Muslims will try to make out that here is an influential religious body of Muslims supporting the Congress proposals. If you study their Resolutions, past and present, carefully, you will find that as a matter of fact, the Jamiat-i-Ulma does not really support the Congress on the Hindu programme : Firstly, they all start on the assumption that adult franchise prevails ; secondly, they all want majority in the Punjab and in Bengal established on population basis ; thirdly, they all talk of Civil Laws governing Muslims being outside the jurisdiction of Legislatures and Governments. In other words, taking the decision as to mode of election being practically settled by the last Round Table Conference, the Jamiat supports the Muslim claims for majorities in the Punjab and in Bengal. You should have the Resoultions, *in extenso*, with you.

Similarly, you should have with you Ansari's Faridkot speech and other statements he issued, again emphasising the assuring of majorities to the Punjab and Bengal and also talking of adult franchise, Similarly, such Bengal Muslims as support this view also proceed on the assumption of adult franchise aad majorities being assured. You should have reports from pro-Congress papers of such speeches and resolutions.

I trust you will write to me from Bombay or Aden as to your fellow passengers, &c., and then continue to keep me informed of developments.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

145. Simla.
10th August, 1931.

My dear Andrews,

I have not heard from you now for some time. As you know, I have been busy piecing together the South African Delegation. Shastri and Corbett have agreed to go. That is very satisfactory. When are you likely to be free of the Round Table Conference to reach South Africa ? I attach very great value to your being there before the Indian Delegation reaches there. What do you yourself think about it? I suppose Shastri and Corbett will have to leave London some time in the middle of December. Do you think you will be able to precede them or not ?

Bajpai has not been very well, and I believe he will be coming over to London shortly, but he will return to Delhi about the middle of November, and then leave about the middle of December with the Delegation. I shall be grateful if you will let me know if any matter has to be worked up here in my Secretariat.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Rev. C. F. Andrews,
112, Gower Street,
London, W.C.I.

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146. 112, Gower Street,
London W.C. 1.
August, 1931

Dear Sir Fazli Husain,

I want to tell you my plans about South Africa. I have booked my passage provisionally on the Arundel Castle which starts on September 18th, but I may have to go a week or a fortnight later to South Africa. All depends on Mahatma Gandhi's visit here.

It has seemed to me absolutely vital that I should reach South Africa in time to unite the Indian Community in a common policy and prepare the case for them to the utmost degree possible in order

that there may be no failure on our part when the Conference takes place in January. Sastri will obviously not be available until the last moment ; therefore this part must be done by myself in conjunction with Sir Kurma Reddi who will value more than anything my help in this matter. I am so thankful to hear from his son that his health continues to be greatly improved. This indeed is the best news I have had.

There can be nothing more important with regard to Indians abroad than the settlement of this South African question, and I am earnestly praying to God to give us all right guidance in the matter.

With regard to East Africa, I have had a unique opportunity this summer in making clear to important people, the Indian Government's point of view (which is my own point of view) about Indian conditions there. I did not give actual evidence before the Commission because I found that it would not be necessary ; but I have seen some of the Commissioners personally and they know my own strong opinions which are those of the Government of India. The Governor of British Guiana has written me a very long and important letter which I shall try to enclose in this envelope. He is very optimistic as you will notice, and eager for a renewal of immigration into British Guiana from India. I have told him, in reply, that the first consideration in this matter must be rather the question of a Steamer Service than a renewal of any form of immigration. If a regular Steamer Service were started, people would go backwards and forwards quite naturally, but if there is no steamer service then unnatural conditions are certain to grow up between the two countries such as I have personally witnessed in British Guiana itself. I know you would agree with this argument of mine.

With regard to Fiji, I have received the greatest help from Dr. Beattie, who is a very remarkable friend of the Indians in Fiji and greatly loved by them. His main point in conversation was that Mr. Pearson's position as an official of the Fiji Government, is not really a sufficient protection and support for the Indians in the Island, although, at the same time, he speaks in the highest terms about Mr. Pearson himself and his goodness. He thinks the time has come for an agent to be sent who will be outside the Fiji Government rather

than part of it. I hope to be able to send you his letter.

There is one matter which has been very much on my mind with regard to my own home work in India at Santineketan under the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. I believe he has had very great misfortune hitherto in forwarding his request for a grant towards the agricultural work he is doing, which is of an all-India character, and about which I can personally vouch that it promises the very best possible results. He spoke to me, when I was with him last year, about his own deep disappointment and I think he has made a further application for a grant. I know how bad times are just now, but I do not think any work in the whole of India deserves more support from the Government of India than this which he himself is doing. He has freely given *my* own services on different occasions for work on behalf of Indians abroad. Whenever I have asked him for leave of absence, he has never on one single occasion refused to allow me to go, either to South Africa or Fiji or British Guiana. He has also encouraged me to go again this year to South Africa. I feel that I have an appeal on this account to the Government of India, to help him in his great agricultural work, when he is so generously giving me up for service, and I know that you yourself will feel the justice of that appeal as well as the Viceroy.

I have not mentioned this to anyone else and I have made this appeal to you without any request from the Poet himself, but you yourself will easily understand how my deap love for him makes me extremely anxious to relieve the burden which he is bearing and has found almost too heavy to bear.

I should be very grateful to you if you could kindly show this letter and its important enclosures to H. E. the Viceroy.

Yours very sincerely,
C. F. Andrews

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147. Foreign and Political Department, India.
Simla,
14th August, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazli Husain,

May I invite a reference to Pears' letter to Bajpai, No. 1148-L.F.N. dated the 5th of August. I think yon will probably agree that

it is a great pity that no decision was taken in Council this morning. My information, which comes from a source in which I have considerable confidence, is that this matter of electoral reforms is in certain circles being regarded as something in the nature of a test case. After years of doing nothing Government has made numerous promises to the North-West Frontier Province, but so far has done actually nothing. If we could get a move on over Municipal and District Board elections, it would be taken as an earnest of sincerity. What Pears says about the delay that would now necessarily attend an alteration in the elected proportion seems to be well founded, and in our opinion it is above all things important that there should be no delay. I would therefore suggest to you, with H.E.'s authority, that a possible solution might be found as follows. Pears should be instructed to carry on as rapidly as possible on the proportion already agreed upon subject to the alteration (which would not affect the allocation of seats) of the elected element being fixed at 51 and the remainder at 49. If the local bodies feel strongly about the elected proportion, there seems to be no reason why they should not take it up themselves at once as soon as they come into being and work out the necessary arrangements themselves. That would give them something to do and to think and talk about.

Yours sincerely,
E. B. Howell

P.S. If you would like to discuss this will you let me know ?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian
Sir Fazl-i-Husain, KCIE., Kt.,
Member of Council (E.H. & L), Simla.

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148. Camp Kandaghat,
17th August, 1931.

My dear Sastri,

I am extremely sorry to find from yours of the 6th inst. that you have been ill. Well, I have been myself indulging in that luxury during the last few weeks as I generally do in Simla, and came here the day before yesterday for a change, and will be returning to Simla next week.

I do hope by the time you get my letter you will have entirely recovered your health and your strength. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee involves a great deal of work.

It is a pity Mr. Gandhi did not go by the last boat. I am afraid those who have a preponderating voice in the Working Committee wanted to place all sorts of obstacles in his way, and every effort to make it easy for him to go was thus frustrated. Apparently, the Congress working Committee, proceeding on the well-recognised fact that Government was most anxious to get Gandhi attend the Round Table Conference, felt they could use that position to make demands which ordinarily they would have hesitated even to make. Personally, I think, somehow or other, Mr. Gandhi will join you ; it may be a week or two later but in these days people do not always act rationally, so one cannot be very hopeful of one's forecast.

With best wishes for a speedy recovery,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Rt. H'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri P.C.,
London, W.S.

149.

Camp Kandaghat,
17th August, 1931.

My dear Howell,

Yours about the advisability of pushing self-governing institutions in the Frontier Province and not delaying the elections on account of the postponement of the case relating to percentages of elected members in local bodies in that province—

So far as I know, no instructions of any kind have issued from my Department suggesting the postponement of the holding of elections, and I believe elections are proceeding as if this matter were not under consideration here, and there is a considerable force in what Pears has said about reducing the number of nominated members in case we decide upon having predominance of elected members. To make sure that my impression is right, you might find out from Pears whether by any chance he has been asked to put off the holding of

elections. In case he has been asked to put off elections, I will certainly cancel those instructions and request him to proceed with elections.

The reason why I attach some value to the preponderance of the elected element is that I am afraid of a possible boycott of elections in some quarters, and it is ever so much better to rope in as many politically minded people as possible. This can be done even now by reducing the number of nominated members in Muncipalities other than Peshawar by 2 or so, and in the case of Peshawar by 4. In the case of District Boards. we have as yet no information, but similar arrangements can be made about them as well.

I wanted to talk to you on Saturday about this matter, but we were suddenly summoned to an Executive Council meeting, and immediately after the meeting was over, I left Simla for this place.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

E.B. Howell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.,I.C.S.,
Secretary (Foreign),
Foreign & Political Department,
Simla.

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150. The All India Muslim Conference
Bankipore (Patna),
The 17th August, 1931.

My dear Sir Fazli,

May I approach you with a very useful but a little distasteful request ? I am doing it with the sense of the great responsibility which attaches to a beggar for the sake of Allah and His faithful souls.

The Musalmans of India would have remained disunited and disgruntled, had not the idea of combining all those who bear representative character come to our mind. Private organisations like the Muslim League, Khilafat Committee and Jamiat Ulmai-Hind could not alone carry the Muslim Community with them. The members of the several legislatures had a position in the community which no one could deny. The combination and co-ordination of all these meant the dawning of a new era on the Musalmans of India. Organisation of this kind was the one necessity of the community. But this could

not be achieved without the sacrifice of sincere workers and spending a large amount of money. The foundation was laid in September 1928 in Simla. It grew into a truly representative institution of the Muslim India and now by the grace of the Great Almighty it has come to weild [*sic*] an influence which even Gandhiji envies.

The nourishment, the organisation requires at the present moment is no less than it did when it was born. Now the enemies are trying to sap its foundation. The eyes of the greatest amongst the non-muslims are on it.

Provincial organisations draw their strength from the central one. The centre must be kept active and strong. You have therefore, to keep the centre living. The source which we are now tapping was left untouched all this time. Rs. 30/- a month is not much for the Executive Councillors, Ministers and Presidents who are drawn from the community for the high post. Many of these Hon'ble gentlemen have gladly contributed the amount from the month of July last. As I have not received Rs. 30/- for the month of July from you, I beg to remind you for that petty sum.

I hope I will receive the money from you in no time and thank you on behalf of the community for the timely aid that you will be pleased to bestow.

This is the letter I have sent to all the Hon'ble gentlemen concerned.

Haji Abdullah Haroon has not sent me any money out of the Rs. 5,000/- he has recently recieved from H. H. the Aga Khan. He says he would give me money to spend in consultation with Bengal leaders. He does not say a word about the payment of the loans I have given to the Conference from time to time of which I had sent him a detailed account. On the 12th August such loans had come up to Rs. 1419-6-6.

With best wishes.

Yours,
Md. Shafee Daoodi

Confidential

150. 17th August, 1931.

Dear Zafrulla Khan,

Yours of the 14th.

Yes, on the whole, I think you are right. I wish you every success there.

One of your colleagues is Nawab Meher Shah. In the Muslim circle of Simla, there are two views expressed : one is that he is to give authentic news of all that happens in the Muslim group of the Round Table Conference. There is no harm in that as long as he is kept duly informed of the real views. The other is that he might take a hand in case there is a split in the Muslim group. I do not believe he can have any such intention. However, the great thing is for you to get into touch with him as soon as he reaches London, and be nice to him and tell him all that you think he ought to know, and get him to tell you all that you can get out of him. He can be very useful, and I believe if you were lucky to tackle him the right way, he may be a source of help.

The above is entirely confidential.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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151. Simla, 24th August, 1931.

Dear Lord Irwin,

Yours of the 29th July.

You say Gandhi's attitude about attending the Round Table Conference seems very uncertain. Well, the position, as, I have no doubt, it is clear to you, is this : Gandhi's original programme was to represent India in order to negotiate with the Prime Minister. This position you were not ready to acknowledge in 1929, and so the civil disobedience movement of 1930. Gandhi felt that early in 1931 he had practically secured that position for himself, and the only flaw in his position was the communal question not having been settled. After the Pact, he publicly announced his intention of making good

this defect. Luck did not favour him, and the question became more and more involved, and eventually he had to decide to attend the Round Table Conference without the communal question being settled, which means that his full representative capacity was thereby lost. It appears to me that he has been aiming at making that deficiency good. If he can establish himself in the position of being in the right and the Government in the wrong, he has but to give expression to his righteous indignation to make Government give up any opposition that they may have considered necessary to any of his demands. To put it differently, he wants the position of a dictator : "Here are my demands ; meet them or leave them". This is to be a realitv, but he is ready to clothe this reality in the apparel of negotiation, discussion, argumentation, controversy, anything you like. We all, no doubt, want him to go to the Round Table Conference as one of the distinguished leaders of India, and one may even go as far as to say, as perhaps the most distinguished leader of India, but not as a dictator, for the very conception of dictatorship at the Round Table Conference renders the Conference a farce. I have always felt that Gandhi wants to go to the Round Table Conference, but at the same time he wants to extract every bit of advantage that he can get out of Government before he goes.

I am glad you have been thinking a great deal about the Hindu-Muslim question, and are arranging to meet in order to have a talk with the Aga Khan. The Aga Khan will naturally take the lead of the Muslims at the Round Table Conference, and I have no doubt the Muslims will feel most grateful to you for the advice and help you may be good enough to give them. The problem does not seem to me to be at all difficult. It is the propaganda which has made it seem so difficult. After all, the problem, at the present stage, is simply one of the method and amount of representation of Muslims in local and Central Legislatures. As regards the six minority provinces, a certain proportion of Muslim representation is in force ; Official blocs are being taken away, and to that extent the muslim position is going to be weakened thereby. The existing weightage is recommended by the Simon Report, Provincial Governments and the Government of India's Despatch to continue. In view of the absence of the official

bloc and a much larger measure of self-government and, in consequence, devolution of political power in favour of the majority community, can it be said that the recommendations need re-examination with a view to alter them to the prejudice of the Muslim community? Surely, His Majesty's Government cannot do such a thing.

As regards the Central Legislature, what is said above applies. This leaves the question of Bengal and the Punjab. Surely, in Bengal, European interests are so considerable that the balance of power will, for the present, be likely to remain in European hands, however keen the desire of the Indian Muslims may be to have an over-all majority. So if Muslims were given, qua non - Muslim Indians, a majority on population basis, provided it did not constitute a majority in the Legislature, they might be made to reconcile themselves to the inevitable. This leaves the Punjab, and there the soultion is that through general electorates Muslims should not get a majority but that they should have representation on population basis, subject to its not being an over-all majority. This position of theirs they can improve by securing seats in special constituencies through joint electorates. Here, it should be frankly possible for Muslims to have an over-all majority in the Legislature in case people voted communally. I do not see how any reasonable outsider can take exception to this. These are, however, views, in accordance with which a settlement can be made. They, in no way, meet the claims of Muslims and are likely to be repudiated by Indian Muslims. That, however, is the fate of all efforts at a fair settlement. The importance of giving Muslims in the Punjab a chance of having a majority becomes manifest when we remember that in the North-West Frontier Province, the provisional conclusions of the Round Table Conference are that the system of Government established will not be responsible even to the extent to which responsibility exists in the provinces under the Montagu reforms.

People are agitating here for the settlement of Muslim representation in Legislatures before the Federal Structure Sub-Committee begins to tackle its important work. I suppose, eventually, the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and the Minorities Committee will be working side by side. The chances of a settlement, by mutual

understanding, seem to be remote, and I see no reason why a settlement arrived at by His Majesty's Government with the concurrence of the other British Parties and thus representing the decision of the Parliament should not be announced at a fairly early stage.

Gandhi is reaching Simla to-morrow, and I have no doubt there will be lots of talks in the usual way.

Economic depression is getting worse. Punjab, as a peculiarly agricultural province, having a comparatively higher standard of comfort and living, has suffered most. All the reserve power is almost exhausted, and the future is pretty dark. Financial conditions prevailing seem to be none too good. The telegrams of the last two days from London mention the existence of a crisis which may bring about a change of Government.

The Round Table Conference will give you a very great deal of work. Most of the members would like to see you and talk to you and want you to help them, and do all sorts of things for them, many of which will be unachievable. I wonder how you will manage it all ; pretty awkward, I should think.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

152.

By Air Mail Simla, 28th August, 1931.

My dear Andrews,

Thanks for yours of August and for its enclosures. His Excellency has read them with great interest and has asked me to convey his thanks to you.

I find from the papers that on account of Mahatma Gandhi not being able to reach London till about the middle of September you have postponed your departure till the end of September.

I am glad you fully appreciate the importance of your reaching South Africa as early as you can manage it with due regard to your need in London. From the papers it appears that the atmosphere in

South Africa is being adversely affected by the propaganda of some anti-Indian papers. This is not unexpected, but it is necessary to counteract this very natural attempt. I have no doubt Sir Kurma will try his best, but your presence will naturally have a very salutary and far-reaching effect. It is true Shastri and Corbett will be able to get there only just a very short time before the Conference commences its deliberations. The provisional programme for delegates from India arranges for their reaching Lourenco Marques on the 4th of January.

As regards British Guiana and Fiji, I have asked Ramchandra to look into these cases.

As regards Santinekatan, I have asked Reid to look up the case if it is here. It is possible that the case may be with the Bengal Government. We will try to trace it and do all we can.

The enclosures to your letter are herewith returned.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Rev C.F. Andrews, Yours sincerely,
112, Gower Street, Fazl-i-Husain
London, W.C. I

153. Simla, 31st August, 1931.

My dear Andrews,

Thanks very much for yours of the 20th inst. and for its enclosure.

I am glad you are thinking of reaching South Africa early. I have no doubt you have had talks already with Shastri and Bajpai and before long will be having a talk with Mahatma Gandhi. I also had a talk with Mahatma Gandhi and benefited a great deal from it.

As to the scope of the agenda, as distinct from the scope of the subjects which might be discussed at the conference, kindly have a talk with Bajpai. He appeared to me to think that we could not very well ask the South African Government to include this matter specifically in the agenda. I understood him to say that either there was a constitutional hitch or that there was an understanding in the

past that it would not be brought in, but that there would be no difficulty in discussing it. My personal view was for having the agenda as exhaustive as possible, but I was advised that this was not practicable or diplomatic. However, I will go into the matter again.

I am keeping Joshi's letter for the present, but will return it to you by the next Air Mail.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

154.

Private & Confidential (To Nawab of Chhitari)
5th September, 1931.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 27th August.

So you are sailing on the 12th. I wish you a very pleasant passage there and back, and a very pleasant and successful time there, and wish you every success in this great mission. I am ever ready to render any service that I may be called upon to do.

As you have realised in the problem concerning Muslims and other communities in India, the matter of the utmost importance is that Muslims should not take upon themselves the task of discovering the terms on which a settlement can be arrived at, but be ever ready to consider any idea that is placed before them and examine it with the sole object of arriving at a settlement, provided it does not appear to be prejudicial to Muslim interests. The main problem now is representation of Muslims in local and Central Legislatures.

As regards local Legislatures, there are six minority provinces, in 5 of which Muslims have a certain weightage (in some they have none), and with the assistance of the official bloc they have been maintaining their position. Now it is proposed to do away with the official bloc and confer full responsibility on local Legislatures. This naturally renders Muslims in these provinces very, very apprehensive, but by their nature and tradition they do not wish to stand in the way of progress. It would not have been unreasonable if they had demanded their position being strengthened in the Legislatures before

agreeing to any political advance or provincial autonomy; but they have not done so and have contented themselves with being left with the same weightage as they have now and the same method of election. This has been supported by local Governments, the Government of India and the Simon Commission, so I do not see how it can be considered in any way reasonable on the part of those who seek to disturb the Muslim position and change it for the worse from the Muslim point of view. On this point, it is inconceivable that the British Parliament should take upon itself to go against the well-considered opinion of the local Governments, the Government of India and the reporting Commission.

The question relating to Bengal and the Punjab is a bit different, but I feel that the question of the six provinces should be cleared out of the way and a settlement, preferably by agreement, otherwise by order, should be made as regards these six provinces. Bengal also does not present any great difficulty. In all probability, Britishers will claim and obtain representation. They have it now. There should be no difficulty in agreeing that Muslims should obtain representation through separate electorates on population basis so far as the India section of the Congress is concerned. This will give a majority amongst the Indian members of the Legislature, and yet the casting vote will remain with the Europeans, and as a half-way house between the present and the future when Muslims shall be in a majority, this may thus prove acceptable to Government. Muslims will, no doubt, resent it very much, but this is one way of settling this thorny question.

As regards the Punjab, Muslims very properly demand representation on population basis and are entitled to it; but even in the case of the Punjab, it will not be difficult to arrive at a settlement. If you talk to Zafrullah Khan, he will be able to explain the Punjab position to you.

As regards the Central Legislature, in case Federation comes off, it is obvious that the representation of States, on the assumption that they all join, cannot be more than what they are entitled to on population basis. In fact, some hold the view that it should be only

two-thirds of the population basis because of the absolute lack of political activity, and comparatively speaking, of backward educational and economic condition. Muslims have, at present, very nearly one-third through separate electorates, and one fails to see how, by the introduction of responsibility at the centre, Muslims can be expected to agree to anything less than one-third.

You have asked about indictment of the Congress. So far as their presence is concerned, I have no doubt you know all about it, and that will be ample to enable you to convince the Council in case the Congress is short-sighted enough to raise the subject at the Round Table Conference.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

(To Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad) Fazl-i-Husain

155. 7th September, 1931.

Dear Shafaat,

Your two letters of the 22nd. I think the programme that has been chalked out remains unaffected by Gandhi's appearance at the Round Table Conference. He commands no more reverence from the ignorant Indians than does H.H. the Agha Khan and it is only foolishness on the part of some Muslims to indulge in talks and gestures which can do no credit to the self-respect so strongly insisted upon in the Islamic teaching and Islamic culture. He has the right to be treated as one of the most leading Indian politicians and should be shown due respect and regard as such but no more. Several leading Muslims here in Simla have talked to me about three problems :

(1) In case federation comes off what share should the States have in the Federal Legislature ?

(2) What should be the method of their representation ? and

(3) What should be the Muslim share in the Federal Legislature as a whole ?

As regards the first point some hold that it should be the population basis, others contribution to federal revenues, others fraction

of population basis to be determined with due regard to political and educational backwardness. As regards the second, the opinion is practically unanimous in favour of election. As regards the third the preponderance of opinion is in favour of one third of the whole.

I am glad you have all made up your minds not to indulge in making offers for settlement but to be prepared to consider any offers that are made to you.

I agree with you all that arbitration has no sense whatsoever as a machinery to settle communal disputes or points of constitution. Therefore His Majesty's Government must discharge the duty that lies on them, but whatever their decision may be it will be open to the Indian Muslims to accept or to take such constitutional action against it in case it is not acceptable to them.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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156. Larkana Sind,
9th September, 1931.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am taking the liberty of sending you herewith a copy of the letter which I have recently addressed to the Sind Financial Enquiry Committee along with a copy of its enclosure. I will send you some more literature on the separation question, as I know you are interested in our cause. It is needless to mention here that the Mussalmans of Sind are entertaining great hopes in your goodself.

With best wishes and kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Khuhro

To

The Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain.,
Executive Member,
Government of India,
Simla.

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157. The Retreat, Simla.
14th September, 1931.

Dear Aga Khan,

I was delighted to see that you have been so good and so kind as to go to Marseilles to see the Delegation and have a talk with them. Affairs in England are very much involved, and until they are settled, India cannot reasonably expect to engage the British mind. I trust you will be able to be with the Muslim Delegation in London as much as you can possibly manage. There are some disruptive elements and their presence necessitates your being more with the Delegation than might have been necessary otherwise.

Herewith a note[1] in which some ideas entertained in Muslim political circles have been jotted down for the consideration of the Muslim Delegates. You can mention them to such as you think fit.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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158. The Retreat, Simla.
28th September, 1931.

Dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 3rd and 17th September.

I do not think the Federal Stiucture Sub-Committee has really started upon serious work yet. This is only the second round. When other people are unreasonable, it is no use your being reasonable. The Princes want 50, 40 and 30 per cent representation. Shastri suggests it should not be even population basis but other factors——capacity, knowledge, position, suitability—should also enter into consideration. All of you seem to have verily agreed to nomination whether of officials or non-officials, either princes, to the Upper Chamber. I have written to Zafrullah about it and asked him to show you the aspect of the case which struck me as important. More in my next.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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1. Not available in Fazl-i-Husain papers.

159. (To Alma Latifi)

Private & Confidental.

The Retreat. Simla,
6th October, 1931.

My dear Latifi,

Thanks very much for your very kind letter and for the enclosures. They are most helpful.

My wife and the children send their love to you all, in particular, to Jimmy.

The unmannerly and impudent attack of Malaviya and others on His Highness the Aga Khan has created a great stir in India and, in particular, in Simla. Muslim India has resented it very much, and half a dozen statements to the press, condemning these men and extolling His Highness the Aga Khan, and expressing full confidence in him and in his leadership, have gone to the press and have been already favourably commented upon.

It seems to me that Gandhi will be soon out of this show. He and the Congress differ so widely from all other schools of Indian thought and are so intolerant of differences of opinion that he and those of his way of thinking are not likely to be parties to an agreed constitution. This will leave four groups—Liberals, Hindu Sabha men, Sikhs, Depressed Classes, Labour, Europeans, besides Muslims. His Highness the Aga Khan will find no difficulty in combining Muslims, Europeans, Depressed Classes and the saner element of Hindu Liberals. Madras will afford him the best field for this purpose. Eventually, the question will be whether the Hindu Sabha (Jaikar, Moonje & Co.) come to a settlement or go back in Gandhi's footsteps. It is impossible to forecast it at present but one soon will know. You may mention this to His Highness the Aga Khan and give him the very best wishes from me.

I have not been, and am not yet, very well.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

160. Camp Lahore,
14th October, 1931.

My dear Latifi,

I was delighted to hear from you.

Things are progressing very favourably. It is an excellent idea about Sir Dennison Ross broad-casting and arranging a purely social meeting between the Aga and the Mahatma.

I notice the redistribution of the Punjab has been talked about. I am afraid there is very little indeed. The Sikh proposal is, of course, monstrous. The idea of taking away Lyallpur, Sheikhupura and Montgomery from the Muslim portion of the Punjab is obviously monstrous because Lyallpur has been carved out of the old Jhang Dist., an entirely Muslim Dist., and the same has been the case of Montogomery Bars having come out of Multan and, similarly, Sheikhupura from the Muslim Bars. Because in the colonies some non-Muslims were also settled by the British Government, is the Muslim Punjab to be deprived of these areas ? It is unthinkable.

As regards amalgamating the Frontier Province Districts with the Punjab, the British Government will never agree to it because that will amount to restoring pre-1901 conditions and the Border then will be the charge of a Provincial Government. I do not think the British Government will be prepared to do that. There is then the alternative of adding Sind to the Punjab and taking away the Ambala Division. That is a possibility but no Muslim School of thought wants to make that suggestion. The Punjab Muslims are satisfied with the Punjab as it is. If His Majesty's Government keep the Punjab in area and in population about the same, taking away the Ambala Division and giving Sind instead, the Punjab Muslims may submit to it, but they have not asked, and will not ask, for it.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

161. Camp Lahore,
14th October, 1931.

My dear Zafrullah,

Yours of the 2nd inst.

Thanks for letting me know about Mr. Dutt and Annik. But what I cannot understand is why such a simple thing has not been done until now. Mr. Dutt has funds at his diposal. The design and the writing on the memorial were agreed upon some months ago. So, why should there be any delay. Please do hurry them up.

As regards Ansari, the position taken up by you was obviously correct. Moreover, Gandhi did not need him to arrive at a settlement. He needed him in order to show justification for non-agreement. He talks of the impossibility of agreeing to separate electorates by the Congress, forgetting that in 1918 the Congress itself permitted separate electorates and insisted upon Muslims not voting in general constituencies, so he cannot pretend that the Congress of 12 years ago consisted of fools, while they are now wise ones of all times.

I have read your speeches. The subject matter is well-conceived and admirably expressed. I am very pleased indeed that you are doing so well.

With best wishes,
I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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162. Camp Lahore,
14th October, 1931.

Dear Ziauddin,

Yours of the 11th.

I did not say that you were not to put any questions *re* the N.W.F.P. What I said was that the questions should be such as are not entirely based on hearsay but have some sort of basis. Constitutional

rights are not unreasonable things, and their proper exercise, as a rule, does not embarrass Government. It is where the right is abused that its exercise does no good either to the people or to Government. I entirely agree with you about our Muslim delegates in London. They are doing very well indeed and we must be grateful to Providence for it.

In the recent news, there is one danger point, i.e., the idea of a Federal Court. We have no quarrel with the Federal Court; but if it is intended that it should be taken as protector of the rights of minorities as the reliable interpreter of the constitution and the provisions regarding the protection of minorities, then the Muslim attitude can only be one, *i.e.*, disbelief in the Federal Court being any protection whatsoever to the Muslim community. Intimation to that effect to our delegates in London will not be amiss ; and you say a Federal Court, being an impartial and non-communal institution, will, in all probability, be either entirely, or very largely, non-Muslim. Its mentality will be the mentality of the majority, *i.e.*, the so-called national. What chances then have the minority before it, and what sort of protection can the Judicial Tribunals give against the executive? It is only an eye-wash, and a very poor one at that.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

(To Mian Ali Ahmed Khan, Uncle)

6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.

مورخہ ۲۸ اکتوبر ۱۹۳۱ء

مکرمی جناب ماموں صاحب زاد عنایہ"

السلام علیکم - آخرکار اللہ تعالٰی نے کامیابی عطا فرمائی اور آپ کی بڑی بھاری محنت رائگاں نہ گئی اور سچائی کی فتح ہوئی - خداوند کریم کا جتنا بھی شکریہ ادا کریں کم ہے - اس کامیابی پر مستحق مبارکباد آپ ہیں ، کیونکہ سب محنت اور ہمت آپ کی تھی اور مجھے تو دوران مقدمہ میں فرائض منسٹری

اتنی فرصت بھی نہ دیتے تھے کہ سوچ کر مشورہ بھی دے سکوں - میرے لیے یہ بات قابل تسکین و اطمینان ہے کہ مخالفین نے جو میرے بھائیوں کے ذریعے مجھے بدنام کرنے کی سعی کی اور میرے بھائیوں نے مخالفین کی مدد کی بناء پر مجھے خراب کرنے کے لیے آمادگی ظاہر کی - دونوں کو اللہ تعالی نے ناکامیاب کیا - خیر خدا ان کا بھلا کرے - جب اللہ تعالی نے ہمیں کامیابی عطا فرمائی ہے تو ہمیں حوصلہ و بردباری سے کام لینا چاہیے - فاضل تو بالکل ہی بچہ تھا - تفضل بھی ناتجربہ کار اور بے علم - عفو سے کام لینا چاہیے -

میاں احمد سعید خانصاحب کا خط آیا تھا کہ بے شک تقسیم جائداد ضروری ہے - سو اول تو مکمل فہرست موجودہ جائداد متروکہ والد مرحوم تیار ہو - اس کے ایک خانے میں قیمت مندرجہ عرضی دعویٰ درج کریں - دوسرے میں جو آج کل کی قیمت آپ تصور کرتے ہیں وہ درج کریں اور تیسرے خانے میں جو آج کل کی آمدنی ہے وہ درج کریں - پھر ہر قسم جائداد یعنی سکنی ، زرعی و مربعہ جات کے دو دو [؟] حصے کیے جائیں اور بغیر جھگڑے کے باہمی رضامندی سے تقسیم ہو جائے تاکہ ہر ایک مالک جس طرح چاہے انتظام کرے -

اپنی خیر و عافیت سے اطلاع دیتے رہیں -

آپ کا

فضل حسین

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164. New Delhi,
1st November, 1931.

Dear Lord Irwin,

It is a great pity that the Minorities Committee has, as you say, hopelessly broken down. Well to be frank it did not come to me as a surprise. Different groups of members have different goals and different ideals. It is no use being poetic and saying that it is not so. On the top of this we have had general elections resulting in Conservative majority and ousting most of the elements which were believed to be propolitical advance for India. As if these troubles were not enough financial and economic situation continues to be bad and is being felt more than before because of the loss of power of resistance. Under the circumstances it is no use professing to be optimistic and

saying that all is well. By the time you get this letter crisis will have been reached or will be approaching and I suppose we may have to face another cycle of the usual agitation, suppression, repression, re-conciliation, etc.

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

The Right Hon'ble Lord Irwin of Kirby Underdale,
88, Eton Square,
London, S.W.I.

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165. New Delhi, Ist November 1931.

My dear Corbett,

I am so glad you are determined not to fail me and I trust Providence will enable me not to fail you. As to your pay Secretary of State is the final authority in the matter and I have no doubt long before this reaches you he will have settled the matter.

While insisting that the terms to be given should be the same as those given in 1926-27 you pass on to call our supplementary budget a falling. How can we get funds without bringing in a falling budget.

Yes, I have been watching the papers for the work of the Round Table Conference. Your scheme has got very hostile reception from the Sikhs and the Hindus. Do your know why ? Your scheme proceeds on the assumption that the Sikhs and the Hindus hate separate electorates on principle and love joint electorates on principle. This is incorrect. As soon as they are assured that through joint electorates Muslims will get constituencies in which Muslim voters preponderate and that such constituencies will be more than fifty per cent and may be as many as to reflect the population preponderance they will at once turn round and want weightage and separate electorates or reserved seats and their demand for weightage will be such as to reduce the Muslims if not to minority at all events to equality. Their cry for joint electorates as against

separate electorates is to be heard only as long as Muslim voting strength is low or there are circumstances that render effective voting strength lower than what it may oppear on the surface.

With best wishes,

Sir Geoffrey L Corbett, KBE, CIE

Secretary to the British Indian Delegation,

London, S. W. I

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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166. New Delhi, the 2nd November 1931.

Dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 17th. As to the reservation of seats in the Punjab if Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Europeans by agreement decide upon 51 per cent it will be very good. But if this is not so then there is no reason why Mohammedans should have less than 56 per cent. The whole trouble is that as a matter of fact Hindus and Sikhs constitute only one community and it is only a political dodge for them to claim to be separate political entities, the object in view being to reduce the quantity of representation of the Muslims.

In this connection you better remember that the Corbett scheme is based on this very misapprehension. That scheme presumes that if joint electorates are introduced in the reduced Punjab Hindus and Sikhs will be satisfied. As a matter of fact as they have already shown the very idea makes them dissatisfied and if Government were to do this by its own order they will raise hue and cry and both will claim weightage and separate representation, and if they are given weightage the Muslim majority will soon be reduced. This is the reason why Muslims do not welcome Corbett scheme. Personally I see no difficulty why Gavernment should not decide straightaway. Firstly, that in general electorates Muslims shall have by separate electorates not more than 49 per cent of the total house, secondly, that as Hindus and Sikhs are great supporters of joint electorates there is no reason why they should have separate electorates *inter se.*

Thirdly, that special constituencies, i. e., University, Industries and Commerce, large land-owners, tumandars and labour should be joint electorates. This will mean in case there are 100 seats 90 will be by separate eleclorates and 10 special constituencies. Out of 90, 49 will be Muslims and others will have 41. 49 does not constitute a majority in the legislature. Then in the special constituencies with 10 electorates Mohammedans will be able to get 3. This will give them 52 per cent. This will mean depriving the Muslims of 4 per cent. But if this brings peace to India and Mahasabites cease to vilify Mohammedans they may be ready if approach by all in the right spirit to be generous is made.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Nawab Sir Muhammed Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari, K.C.I.E., M.B.E.,

Member, Indian Round Table Conference,

St. James Court, Buckingham Gate, London S. W. I.

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167. New Delhi; 2nd November 1931.

My dear Latifi,

Thanks very much for all the literature you have supplied me with. I think Shafaat Ahmed himself will do the needful in the matter of the report of the Finance Committee of the Federal Structure Committee.

Corbett scheme was bound to come to grieve because it proceeded on the assumption that Sikhs and Hindus really wanted joint electorates. As a matter of fact their sole object was to have such a system under which Muslim majority could be defeated. As a matter of fact if Government imposed the Corbett scheme in the Punjab the first thing the Hindus and Sikhs will do will be the demand for weightage and separate electorates or at all events reservation of seats.

I hear there is a talk of 51 per cent Muslim element in the Punjab Legislature. Well if the Hindus and Sikhs accepted that and offered it to the Muslims I should advise Muslims to agree to it. But if the Hindus and Sikhs are not willing to accept it or to offer it to the Muslims then where is the fun for the Muslims to reduce their demand from 56 to 51. That they will not. If His Majesty's Government gives this 51 per cent to the Muslims as their verdict it could not be said altogether unreasonable. Hindus and Sikhs will say Government has given Muslims a majority and therefore we oppose it. Muslims will say Government has denied them their 56 per cent and so has favoured the Hindns and Sikhs and therefore we are opposed to it; therefore the settlement will go down as a fair settlement to which both sides object. If, however, His Majesty's Government gave Muslims less than 51 pet cent then there is bound to be trouble because then in no province, excepting the Frontier, will the Muslims have a majority and in the Frontier Province reforms are merely an eye-wash. Considering that the present advance will be but a stage in the long and weary progress towards the goal by antagonising the Muslims His Majesty's Government will be only strengthening the opposition. If the Muslims have to serve throughout India well why not submit to the inevitable instead of carrying on an unequal fight, especially when the third party is not prepared to act fairly and justly. These are the sentiments to which Indian Muslims give expression and I cannot believe that His Majesty's Government are not aware of it.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Dr Alma Latifi, LL. D., I. C. S.

Private and Confidential

168. New Delhi, 2nd November 1931.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 23rd October. You have worked well on the Finance Committee and I congratulate you. The following points are worth noting :

(i) In the open meeting of the Round Table Conference when the Federal Structure Committee report dealing with the Finance Committee report comes up it should be made clear, as you say in your letter, that the provincial position should be further emphasised. This is essential and as you yourself were largely responsible for the discussion if on behalf of the Muslims you had this point emphasised yourself it will be a splendid illustration of team work and responsibility to your party.

(ii) Corbett scheme regarding the Punjab proceeds on an assumption which is altogether unfounded, *i. e.*, that Hindus and Sikhs really and truly want joint electorates in the Punjab and if joint electorates were introduced they would be thoroughly satisfied and will not claim weightage or reservation of seats for themselves. As a matter of fact if in the Punjab voting strength of the Muslims reflected their population Hindus and Sikhs would soon be asking for reservation of seats for themselves and would be definitely against joint electorates.

(iii) Whether the Muslims should agree to 51 per cent Muslim representation in the Punjab legislature. There again Muslims cannot agree to 51 per cent. They must hold out for 56. If, however, the Hindus and Sikhs offer 51 it will be a different matter. Muslims then for the sake of peace and good will might agree. Again if Hiudus and Sikhs continue to be obstructive and His Majesty's Government has to settle the matter, is there any reason why they should reduce the Muslims from 56 to 51. In any case they should not do so without the concurrence of the Muslims. It should be very strongly pointed out that in the case of provincial autonomy if Hindu administrations are established in all the provinces and in the only province worth anything *i. e.*, the Punjab, where the non-Hindu administration can be established it is not done and His Majesty's Government even here do not give Muslims a majority they

may rest assured that in the political struggle which is to follow the Muslim support will not be forthcoming. In all provinces the Muslims will be at the mercy of the Hindu majoriiy. Do not forget that in the Frontier no reforms worth mentioning are going to be introduced. Those reforms will be worth much less than the present-day diarchy.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan Sahib,
Member, Indian Round Table Conference,
Queen's House, 56 St. James Court, Buckingham Gate,
London S.W.1.

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169. New Delhi, the 8th November 1931.

Dear Sayed Mohammed Padshah,

Thanks very much for yours of the 30th October. I am glad you are active in the discharge of your onerous duties. The great thing is to fight for what you consider is right, do your duty and let Government do its duty. All this talk about arbitration and tribunal and so on has no meaning. The Congress in 1917 was strongly and expressly for separate electorates, for weightage for Muslims in minority provinces and four or five years later it began to be enigmatic and now has turned completely round and says that separate electorates are an anathema. Surely a new generation of wiseacres has not come into being and the Congress leaders of 1917 were no less patriotic and no less educated, informed and scholarly than the present ones.

I have not been very well in the past but since last week or so I am much better. By the time you return I will have recovered my health completely.

The Assembly is in sessions and the Council of State will be meeting next week.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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170. 28th November 1931.

My dear Nazim-ud-Din,

Yours of tne 20th instant, I entirely agree with you that for a political party a strong press is essential. You should certainly have a Muslim daily in English and a number of Muslim dailies in vernacular. An English paper is extremely expensive and its circulation comparatively speaking limited. What you want is one to reach the masses and for that it is necessary to have vernacular papers, in your case Bengali papers. . I very strongly advise your having at least one Bengali paper started and if the expenditure on a Bengali paper in Bengal is something like the expenditure on an Urdu paper; in the Punjab it is not very much, it pays its way. And even if it does not in the beginning the help it needs is not more than Rs. 3,000 a year. That surely you can arrange for without much trouble. Experience has shown that private enterprise serves best if suitably encouraged and kept well under control. A company paper is much more expensive and involves a great deal of responsibility. Still if private venture cannot be forthcoming there is nothing else but a joint stock enterprise to take its place. Recognising with you the necessity for it I urge upon the advisablilty of starting it within the next month or so.

As regards an English paper I have studied the problem now for nearly 25 years and will not advise you to start a daily in English till you have started at least two vernacular papers. Even then I would advise you for the next year or two to rely upon the English press for your daily needs and start a monthly political magazine for political purposes and when your party gains strength it is then that you may start an English daily. In India there is no Muslim State in the position to help excepting Hyderabad and calls on Hyderabad are so numerous and the present arrangement such that it is futile to build any schemes on hopes of assistance from Hyderabad.

What I have said above may not be very encouraging but that is the sound advice.

I am afraid I am not coming to Calcutta as I will be on the high

seas when His Excellency the Governor General is holding his Executive Council in your great city.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Mr Nazim-ud-Din, C.I.E.,
(Minister for Education),
25/1 Ballygunge Circular Road,
Calcutta.

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171. New Delhi,
28th November, 1931.

My dear Shafaat,

I wonder if this will catch you. I will of course bear in mind what you have said and I trust when His Highness the Aga Khan moves in the matter he will let me know. I think we will have to wait till next March to meet as I am sailing for South Africa on the 16th December. I am very glad that the Muslim Delegation did so well this time and our friends and neighbours ought now to begin to realise that whatever else the Muslims may be backward in they are certainly not backward in political sagacity.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan Sahib,
Member, Indian Round Table Conference.

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172. New Delhi,
17th March, 1932.

Dear Mieville,

The Muslim feeling is acute on the question that the existing position to secure adequacy of representation of Muslims in various services is most satisfactory, and that though the Muslims get all the blame for it from the Hindus, the communities whose representation is considerably in excess of their population basis go on additing to

their weightage through the present practice, while there is no prospect of Muslims ever securing adequacy of representation even during the next 30 years or so. Promises made on the floor of the House regarding Railways and explained away for a year or two and re-affirmed for another year or two, have made them more sore. I think it is worth while to bring the position under review when we are in Simla. I shall feel grateful if you will kindly invite His Excellency's attention to this.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

E.C. Mieville, Esq.,
Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

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173. 4th April, 1932.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

In modification of my previous recommendation regarding appointment of Secretary, I submit this :

1. On Noyce vacating the office of Secretary on Saturday the 9th, Bajpai to take over charge as officiating Secretary till he proceeds on leave which will be after a week or so. On return from leave, he be confirmed unless the medical opinion is against him.
2. During the short period Bajpai is officiating as Secretary, Reid is to officiate as Joint Secretary.
3. When Bajpai proceeds on leave, arrangement of a temporary nature has to be made. Last time Mr. Reid officiated for nearly ten weeks. For office work he is quite good, and his work as Deputy Secretary was distinctly good, and in appreciation of it the decoration of C.I.E. was conferred on him last year, but he is not very well suited for the post of Secretary—especially for Assembly work or committee work and Ram Chandra is distinctly better; and I feel I should recommend Ram Chandra for this officiating appointment.

The alternative is to take some one senior to both these officers from outside for Bajpai's leave vacancy. P.S.V.[1] has sent to me many representations addressed to H.E., and indeed I have been pressed hard by Muslim members of the Assembly and the Council of State and others to take a senior Muslim I.C.S. officer with Secretariat experience. In case it is considered that the acceptance of my recommendation may involve heart-burning in my Secretariat and it is decided to meet the Muslim demand, for this limited period of Bajpai's leave, I am prepared to have a senior Muslim I.C.S. officer with Secretariat experience that you may wish me to have, but it will have to be made clear to him that if Bajpai is not declared medically unfit for service or for this post, he will be appointed permanent Secretary. I must also point out that in case an officer is taken from outside as officiating Secretary, Ram Chandra will have to be Joint Secretary and Reid will remain Deputy Secretary as was the case during Bajpai's absence in South Africa.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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174. 5th April, 1932.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

I had submitted my recommendations yesterday after I received your letter.

I am grateful to you for agreeing to appoint Bajpai as Secretary on the expiry of his four months leave if the Doctor's certificate is not against him.

I am sorry you have rejected my recommendation that he should take over for a week from Noyce before proceeding on leave. This is not a matter of any great importance, and I will not press my view.

As regards officiating arrangement during Bajpai's absence, I very much regret my recommendation has not found favour with you. It was forwarded after seeing the work of the two officers concerned for two years and three months. Noyce is leaving the department,

1. Private Secretary to Viceroy.

Bajpai is proceeding on leave, the machinery of the whole department has to be kept going well; and much as I should have liked to avoid going against seniority, I am afraid the work involved is such that I cannot help venturing to request you to reconsider my recommendation.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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175. The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.
Secret. 5th April, 1932.

My Dear Sir Fazli,

I have received last night your letter submitting the recommendations for the coming vacancies in your Department. I presume that you wrote your letter before you received the one which I sent to you yesterday setting out my views. However I repeat that I am quite agreeable to Bajpai taking his leave at once, and if at the expiry of his four months' leave he is able to produce a doctor's certificate to the effect that he is well enough to undertake the duties of the Secretary of a Department which will involve living for about six months in the year in Simla, I will agree to your recommendation that he should be appointed. On the other hand I cannot agree to Bajpai taking over charge as officiating Secretary for the few days intervening between the time that Noyce vacates his appointment and Bajpai goes on leave.

As regards the appointment of officiating Secretary in the next four months, I am afraid I cannot agree with you that Ram Chandra should be appointed and that Reid should officiate as Joint Secretary. Reid as you know is senior to Ram Chandra, and I feel that there are insufficient grounds for passing him over in favour of Ram Chandra. As far as I can see there will be very little Assembly or Committee work during the period in question, and moreover as Reid acted as Secretary last year in Simla during the absence of Noyce and Bajpai

and furthermore as he did his work very satisfactorily, I feel it would be grossly unfair to pass him over on this occasion.

I hope you will let me have an answer to this letter as soon as possible, as I can only repeat that I am anxious to settle this matter before I leave Delhi this evening.

Yours sincerely,
Willingdon

The Hon'ble
Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain.
K.C.I.E., Kt.

176.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.
5th April, 1932.

Dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for your letter just received. I am very glad to find that you agree to my views as to Bajpai. But, with every desire to help you, I cannot possibly agree to your position as between Reid and Ram Chandra. The former is the senior and he acted as Secretary last year in Simla and I cannot in all fairness agree to his supersession as officiating Secretary unless you can give me some absolutely convincing reason for such action.

I am very sorry to have to say 'no' but am sure you will understand that my sense of fairness impels me to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Willingdon

177.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.
5th April, 1932.

Dear Sir Fazli,

I could not drag you away from a division, so write this note and would be glad of a reply.

I understand that Bajpai wants to go on leave at once. I agree to this and that you should make the necessary temporary arrangements for someone to officiate as Secretary with a clear understanding to the person who is appointed that he will not necessarily get the permanent job.

After Bajpai's leave is over and if he is fit and well, I am prepared to consider his permanent appointment and very favourably, as you are anxious to have him, and I don't feel I can say 'no' to my hon. colleague on a matter in which he is very personally interested.

Will you send me a line as we must get this settled before I go tomorrow ?

Yours sincerely,
Willingdon

P.S.

I suppose you would put in Reid
in the officiating post, who I understand has
acted before quite satisfactorily.

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178. 6th April, 1932.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

I am sorry you have not accepted my recommendation regarding Ram Chandra. In view of what I have said in my last two letters about Reid not being suitable for Secretary's post, I have to go outside the Department. I recommend Mr. Latifi a senior I.C.S. officer who has three or four years experience as a Secretary in the Punjab, and has lately been one of the Secretaries at the Round Table Conference and is now one of the two Secretaries to the Consultative Committee. Perhaps the Consultative Committee is not very busy, and he can be spared for the work for four months from 9th instant.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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179. Viceroy's Camp,
India.
8th April, 1932.

Private

Dear Sir Fazli,

I must own that your new proposal gave me a shock for in the first place I don't want Latifi to leave my Consultative Committee work and in the second, I should hardly think that Latifi would be prepared to accept the post of Secretary for four months and then to be turned out by Bajpai who is 13 years his junior. If Latifi is prepared to give up my work and accept the post for 4 months I am willing to release him but it must be entirely at his own option. I can't help repeating however that I still feel the simplest and fairest thing would be to put in Reid for the 4 months during which there will be no session of the Assembly and nothing of any serious kind coming up.

Will you let me know after receipt of this what you feel about Latifi.

Yours sincerely,
Willingdon

P.S.

Mieville has told me you would like Dr. Shafaat Ahmad for the post of Agent to South Africa. I presume you have sounded him on the matter and if he is willing to go will you be good enough to put up his name officially for my approval. I think he should do well.

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180. 8/9th April, 1932.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

You have asked me what I feel about Latifi after reading your comments on my new proposal for the officiating appointment.

If the Consultative Committee is not pressed with too much work till next August and one Secretary will do, then Latifi can take up this officiating appointment and return to the Consultative Committee in August. If Latifi is to officiate in my Department and his place in the Consultative Committee is to be filled by a Muslim, there is so far as I can see no one available to fill it suitably. Latifi will of course not take up this work, nor will I ask him to take it up, if it in any way really interferes with the Consultative Committee's work. As regards Latifi taking up the work for four months only, and Bajpai coming in as a permanent Secretary, if health permits, it is for Latifi to decide, and to arrive at a decision; he will naturally want to know whether on the expiry of these 4 months (it will only be 3½ months) he will go back to his place as Secretary of the Consultative Committee.

As to the Agent, I submitted a note yesterday.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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181. 10th April, 1932.

Agent in South Africa.

I have had one or two talks with His Excellency on the subject, but none of the persons discussed was found to be suitable. Since then, I have made many inquiries, and the result of my inquiries is this :—

Kunwar Maharaj Singh, a very senior member of the U.P. Provincial Service has been a Commissioner and his services are now lent to the Jodhpur Durbar where he is probably getting Rs. 4,500/- a month, while his own pay in the U.P. was probably Rs. 3,000/-. He has been more than once employed in the matter of the Indians overseas. He belongs to a good family, has personality, position, experience, knowledge and tact, and his wife is held by all whom I have consulted to be eminently suitable for South Africa. I had Kunwar Maharaj Singh in mind many times, but I always put him by because of the difficulty about pay, as the Government of India could not give him the pay that he was getting in Jodhpur and I

felt that he was not likely to go on the pay that he had in British India. I am, however, assured by a friend that Kunwar Maharaj Singh, since his father's death, has independent means, and if requested, will, in all probability, be prepared to sacrifice the Foreign Service pay that he is getting now. If His Excellency agrees, may I privately and confidentially, consult him and practically offer the post to him, it being understood that on the question of pay, the Government of India is not in a position to revise it.

Fazl-i-Husain

Private Secratary to Viceroy

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182. Telegram from P.S.V.
(Viceroy's Camp,
Dehra Dun,
12 April, 1932).

Your telegram of the 11th inst. regarding the Agent in South Africa. His Excellency, before taking any action on the lines suggested by you with regard to Maharaj Kunwar Singh, would like to know whether you sounded Dr. Shafaat Ahmed whom you last recommended. He feels that our representative should be a Muslim this time and would like to know why you suggest this change.

P.S.V.

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183. **Express Telegram-State** P.S.V.,
Viceroy's Camp.
13th April, 1932.

Your telegram of the 12th inst. regarding the Agent in South Africa. His Excellency and I and many other friends felt that our Agent this time should be a Muslim. Latifi, Abdul Qadir and Wazir Hasan were sounded, but they did not want to be considered. I then considered Shah Nawaz, Shafaat Ahmad, Iqbal and several non-Muslims. After consulting competent persons, the conclusion reached was that of the Muslim candidates Shafaat Ahmed was probably the

best, and you told me that his wife had lunched with Their Excellencies the other day and you had formed a good impression of her suitability. I talked to Shafaat and found that his wife is an invalid and has been laid up for some time. On being pressed by him, she is prepared to accompany him and has agreed to stay there for six months in the year. When I was still considering this matter, a friend discussed with me the question of Kunwar Maharaj Singh, and I told him the reason why he was practically put aside *i.e.*, on the question of pay. I revolved the whole question again in my mind and came to the conclusion that Kunwar Maharaj Singh, by reason of his age, experience. knowledge, was more suitable, especially as the question of investigation of scheme of colonization is to be gone into during the first year. I have formed a very good opinion of Dr. Shafaat Ahmed and his work and in spite of it have arrived at the conclusion that Kunwar Maharaj Singh should be recommended by me for His Excellency's approval.

Fazl-i-Husain

184.

Telegram from P.S.V.,
Peshawar.
17th April, 1932.

Your telegram of the 16th inst.

The position with regard to Latifi was clearly laid down in His Excellency's private letter to you of the 8th April to which he is awaiting a reply.

P.S.V.

185.

Express Telegram to P.S.V.,
Viceroy's Camp.
(From Choa Sedan Shah)
17th April, 1932.

Your telegram of the 17th regarding officiating arrangements for the Secretaryship of the Department of Education, Health & Lands.

In reply to His Excellency's private letter of the 8th April, I sent the following reply. Begins.

You have asked me what I feel about Latifi after reading your comments on my new proposal for the officiating appointment. If the Consultative Committee is not pressed with too much work till next August and one Secretary will do, then Latifi can take up this officiating appointment and return to the Consultative Committee in August. If Latifi is to officiate in my Department and his place in the Consultative Committee is to be filled by a Muslim, then there is, so far as I can see, no one available to fill it suitably. Latifi will, of course, not take up this work, nor will I ask him to take it up, if it in any way really interferes with the Consultative Committee's work. As to Latifi taking up the work for 4 months only, and Bajpai coming in as permanent Secretary, if health permits, it is for Latifi to decide and to arrive at a decision. He will actually want to know whether, on the expiry of the four months (it will be, perhaps, only 3½ months), he will go back to his place as Secretary of the Consultative Committee. Ends.

It is on this letter that I have been awaiting His Excellency's orders.

Fazl-i-Husain

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186. Telegram from P.S.V.,
Peshawar,
18th April, 1932.

No. 45 C.

In view of the fact that the Consultative Committee will be meeting on May 23rd and will be carrying on from that date for some time, His Excellency feels that he cannot release Latifi. Under the circumstances, His Excellency must ask you to appoint Reid as the officiating Secretary.

P.S.V.

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187. Telegram, (State) to P.S.V., Viceroy's Camp, from H.M., Choa Sedan Shah. 19th April, 1932 (morning).

Officiating appointment of Secretary pending return of Bajpai from leave.

Your telegram of the 18th April :

As my first recommendation was not accepted by His Excellency and the second has fallen through because Latifi cannot be released, ordinarily, in view of my views on the subject, a man from outside would have been selected. From your telegram, however, I assume His Excellency has decided to appoint Reid. His Excellency's order will be carried out—Reid to officiate for four months, the period of Bajpai's leave; on the expiry of this period, Bajpai to be Secretary, if medically fit, and if not, another Secretary will have to be selected. I think it only right that Reid be informed that this officiating appointment should not be understood to give him any claim to the post even if Bajpai is not medically fit to take up the appointment, and that some one else will have to be selected.

This will mean the appointment of a temporary additional Deputy Secretary. Khurshid Muhammad, who officiated last year, did well and is available, and I recommend him to officiate as additional Deputy Secretary.

Fazl-i-Husain

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188. State Express Telegram from Peshawar. 20 April, 1932.

No. 51 C.

Officiating appointment of Secretary.

His Excellency is glad that you agree to Reid being appointed for four months, the period of Bajpai's leave, and he agrees that Reid

should be informed that this officiating appointment should not be understood to give him any claim to the post, even if Bajpai is not medically fit to take up the appointment after his leave.

His Excellency agrees to the appointment of Khurshid Muhammad as temporary additional Deputy Secretary.

P.S.V.

Private and Confidential.

189.

The Retreat,
Simla.
2nd May, 1932.

Dear Maulvi Shafee Daoodi,

Yours of the 12th April.

Events of very great importance are no doubt happening but there is nothing definite that we can do in the absence of material wherein to express an opinion. In general, the Muslim view seems to be :—

Federal Legislatures—

Representation of Indian States as against British India should be on population basis and not in excess of it.

Since Indian States refuse to consider representation of Muslim States or their Muslim subjects, we of British India are compelled to safeguard the position of Muslims in British India who are entitled to 33% in British Indian representation. Therefore, if any representation to Indian States is given in excess of their population basis, it should not be permitted to reduce the representation of British Indian Muslims in the legislature.

You had better think over this matter and discuss it with your friends and colleagues.

Again, as to whether such States as enter Federation should get only that representation to which they will be entitled *qua* the rest of the States or the whole of the share of the States, the Muslim view

seems to be in favour of the former alternatives. As others come, they will take their respective shares.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Maulvi Md. Shafee Daoodi Sahib,
Secretary,
All India Muslim Conference,
Patna.

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190. 9th May, 1932.

Dear Aga Khan,

Thanks awfully for yours of the 10th April.

I fully appreciate your criticism of the Indian Muslims' mistake of trying to fight on two fronts, *i.e.*, the Hindus and the British. I am sure we will not permit them to do so.

As regards the Hindus, Muslims are not fighting them. As a matter of fact, on that front they are on the defensive. The attacking party are the Hindus.

As regards the second front, Muslims have been in the closest co-operation with the British even under trying circumstances when that co-operation is not sought and valued but taken for granted and not even acknowledged. However, it is no use talking of the past. You and I are concerned with the present and the future. The following points are worth mentioning :

(1) Haji Abdullah Haroon will soon be with you as a member of the Indian Delegation to Ottawa. He is a good man, and I have no doubt, under your guidance, he will do a substantial amount of good to the Muslim cause.

(2) Decision by His Majesty's Government as to the Muslim share in Legislatures of different provinces——It is a matter which should be decided on a very early date, and the decision of the communal problem, to begin with may be limited to this. His Majesty's Government should not permit any other problem, whether it be of special constituencies, or of depressed classes, or of women's special representation, to

delay a decision or make it so involved as to be not clearly satisfactory to the Muslim public.

(3) I have not been very well, and as a matter of fact since the 3rd January 1921, I have had no holiday or leave, and all my Doctors insist upon my having early rest. Therefore, I am proceeding on a four months leave from the 20th of June. I intend spending most of my leave in Abbottabad, and the last few weeks of it in Kashmır.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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191. The Retreat,
Simla,
9th May, 1932.

Dear Lord Irwin,

Thanks very much for a copy of your lecture. I am sure it must have been listened to with wrapt attention and it must have presented the problem to the audience in its true perspective. I am sure it will not add to the difficulties of the problem—a clear and frank enunciation of difficulties put forward frankly and sympathetically with the express object of overcoming them is not taken ill. It is where one dwells upon them at length leading up to the position that for a long time to come they are insurmountable that the Indian public opinion becomes hostile.

Corbett's contribution to the Indian Delegation to South Africa was very, very considerable. I cannot help feeling that Corbett's early retirement due to his health has been a very serious loss to India. Officers of his intellectual *plus* heart power are not many and India cannot afford to lose even a single one of the kind.

Our negotiations in Cape Town had many ups and downs, and the impression left on my mind after the conclusion of the Conference was that there must have been a Providence to help us get the settlement we actually did.

I have not been very well and am proceeding on four months' leave from the 20th of June to take some rest. I intend to spend most of it in Abbottabad and the last part of it in Kashmir.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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192. The Retreat,
Simla.
10th May, 1932.

Dear Haji Abdullah,

Yours of the 7th.

The plan that I had suggested, when we had a talk in Delhi, was as follows : Say, the present deficit is X. Instead of the Bombay Government contributing this X to the Sind finances, in future the central Revenues should contribute it to the Sind revenues, and only the extra amount needed should be met either by economies or by tapping additional sources of taxation.

I agree with you that you should go to London and not stay here any longer. I have written to His Highness the Aga Khan. You should give him all the help you can when there. The main points are:

(1) Muslim representation on provincial legislatures should be settled in June ; and if it cannot be settled in June, the date by which it can be settled should not be some day later than the second or the third week of July which should be definitely announced for the declaration of the decision.

(2) In this decision, in minority provinces, the proportion of Muslims to non-Muslims should be the same as at present in the case of elected seats.

This raises the question of special electorates. They should be very few indeed, and in no case should they be more than 5% of the total seats. It is possible that the question of women's representation may be urged. It should be left to Muslims themselves to arrange for it. Therefore, that cannot be urged as a complication.

Once more, the question of depressed classes might be urged as a stumbling block There, again, their representation is to be confined within the Hindu community's representation.

(3) As to federation—Muslims are not against it and are prepared to welcome it, provided

(1) the representation of the States does not go beyond the population basis; and

(2) if it does, the Muslim representation in British India should be the same as if the States had but been allowed representation on population basis.

(4) Financial burden :

States and British India should bear it just the same.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain

———

Private and confidential

193.

The Retreat,
Simla.
10th May, 1932.

Dear Maulana Shafee Daoodi,

There is nothing to be gained by writing to different people asking them to carry out the Resolution passed at Lahore. If you go on doing this you will only demonstrate that one part of the Resolution evokes no response from any Muslim quarter except the Ahrars, and I think it will be wrong on your part as Secretary of the Conference to do this. You should also bear in mind that C.D.O. is for the moment more or less paralysed. Whether it will regain the lost ground or not, it is very difficult to say, but it would be sheer madness even to suggest to the Muslim community that they should consider plans of action. This is not the time for it. As a matter of fact, many of us are of the view that it is wrong at any time to use it as a political weapon. Still, that is a controversial matter and we need not go into

it. The fact remains that the present moment is most inopportune even to think of it.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

194. **Private & Personal.**

Seymour House,
17, Waterloo Place, S. W. I.
27th May, 1932.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

On my way home I spent a day at Karachi where I had a talk to Brayne, Chairman of the Sind Conference, Bhutto and some other Moslems and a number of Hindus. As a result of these conversations I want to put a point to you for consideration. Have you seriously considered the advantages of uniting Sind and the Punjab both from the point of view of the new Constitution and from the point of view of the communal problem? I know that at the moment public opinion among Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs is opposed to it for reasons you know better than I do, but the more I consider the matter the more does it seem to me that the case for amalgamation in the long view is extremely strong. I confess that the people I have talked it over with are attracted by it on general principles, but argue against it on the ground that it is politically impossible at the moment. I am not sure that that is a valid argument, if the fundamental case is as strong as I think it is. I venture therefore to put before you what seem to me the arguments for and against the proposal.

(a) Under responsible Government Sind ought not to be united to Bombay because it will once more become the Cinderella once power passes to the elected majority. On the other hand, if the impression which I have derived from Brayne, Bhutto and the Moslems and some of the Hindus at Karachi is correct, Sind as a separate Province will be a feeble and lame duck, a burden on the Central Government and no particular credit either to itself or to the Moslems for a great many

years. It would have neither the money nor the personnel to develop its country, its education, etc.

(b) The union of Sind and the Punjab, if it could be put into effect, would be the permanent solution of the present acute Punjab communal question, for the Punjab would then take its place alongside all the other Provinces of India, except Bengal, as being a Province in which one of the communities has a decisive and permanent majority. All the Indian Provinces, except Bengal, can then be treated on the same basis, namely by giving for the time being at any rate electorates to the minorities with substantial weightage for the Sikhs.

(c) The Punjab and Sind together make a natural Province, united by population, by the Indus, by railways, by a common interest in irrigation.

Now for the objections. The first objection is that at present political opinion among Moslems, Hindus, and Sikhs appears to be opposed to the idea. Moslem opinion is opposed to it partly because the Sindhis are jealous and afraid of the Punjabis and are attracted by the "*izzet*" of being an independent Province, and partly because the Punjabis do not want to be burdened by attaching to themeselves a deficit Commissionership. The Sikhs and the Hindus are naturally opposed to it because it would reduce the probability of their having approximately the balance of power in the Punjab. I am inclined to think, however, that Moslems at any rate have not really seriously considered the problem in its present-day terms for All-India reasons. They want an extra Moslem Province. But is there in fact any advantage in having an extra Moslem Province if that Province is going for years to be a feeble Province and if the enlarged Punjab were given in the Federal Legislature the same representation, or approximately the same representation, which would be given to the Punjab and Sind as separate Provinces? It seems to me that from the Moslem point of view there is everything to be said for their having one great Province which can bear comparison in size, and in later years in population, with the other major Provinces, which has a great port of its own and in which the Moslems are assured of that permanent

majority which the Hindus will have elsewhere except in Bengal. It seems to me an immeasurably better position for them, looking to the future, than to have a definitely weak Province in Sind and an eternal wrangle in the Punjab because whatever solution there may be of the communal problem, the Moslems will only have 51% of the seats, which is not a majority from the point of view of making a responsible Government. So far as the Hindus are concerned, they should be content with their population ratio because of their predominance in the rest of India. As for the Sikhs, in the joint Province it would probably be possible to give them the same, or approximately the same, weightage as to the Moslem minorities in other Provinces without endangering the Moslem majority itself.

The second objection is that it is desirable to reduce the size of the Province, and that the separation of Sind, Orissa, N. W. F. P., etc., are steps in that direction. I am inclined to demur from these arguments because I cannot conceive of anything more calculated to ensure the break-up of India than to create linguistic Provinces. It has been democracy based on race and languages which has wrecked the unity of Europe, and if we start India on this foundation it will wreck India also. I am not therefore in favour of the small Provinces in principle though Provinces of 50 millions may prove to be too large. On the other hand, it seems to me that in practice it will be impossible to start the new Indian Constitution on the basis of three deficit Provinces for to do so would absorb most of the surplus, if in fact there is a surplus, which the Percy Committee proposes to allot to the Provinces. We shall therefore in practice be faced with leaving Sind attached to Bombay or uniting it to the Punjab, because financial reasons will prevent it from standing upon its own legs. If my arguments in the earlier part of this letter are sound, it would be worth while the Punjab making some sacrifice to absorb Sind though a compromise might be found in the Central Government making some subsidy for a number of years on the basis of a declining sliding scale.

If these considerations are valid, I am inclined to think that they would gradually prevail against existing public opinion which has been made up of older arguments now out of date and without taking these factors into account.

I should be tremendously obliged if you would let me know what you think about the idea. If you think it is worth advancing, I would take steps to press its consideration in connection with the communal settlement here. If you and everybody else turn it down, well then I suppose it must retire into the limbo of forgotten things.

I hope that you are well and that your holiday will restore you to complete health. I greatly enjoyed the conversation I had with you at Simla and I only regret that you are not going to be in London this summer for the purpose of consultation.

Yours sincerely,
Lothian

The Hon. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, K. C. I. E.,
The Retreat,
SIMLA.

Member of Council,
for Education, Health and Land,
India.
195.

Simla.
6th June, 1932.

Dear Lord Lothian,

I got yours of the 27th May yesterday.

The problem you mention is one in which I have been keenly interested for a number of years, and in 1930, our then Commander-in-Chief was very keen on it. He wrote a note on it, showed it to me and then gave it to Lord Irwin. The matter was, however, dropped because nobody was keen enough to proceed with it. The real argument for Punjab-cum-Sind Province is that that will make natural province, but just now all other arguments are against it—

(1) Sind is a deficit area. It will be deficit area whether tacked on to the Punjab or Bombay, or set up a separate province.

(2) Will its tacking on to the Punjab solve the communal problem in the Punjab? You seem to think that it will. I am afraid I am not so hopeful. You see the population of Sind and its distribution between Muslims and non-Muslims is not such as to make very much difference. Moreover, a

substantial weightage to Sikhs, as long as it leaves a working majority to Muslims, will not satisfy Sikhs or Hindus. Moreover, as you are no doubt aware, the figures are such that, having made provision for Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, commercial interests, women &c., instead of 51 or 52 Muhammedans may have 53%, but I doubt whether they would have any more by this arrangement.

(3) Sind people are very touchy on this point. They would not attribute this move to your desire for creating a natural province with the possibility of economic development unhindered in the future, but to some Machiavellian device on my part to make the Punjab extremely strong, secure for it a seaboard, and thus establish a Muslim Empire from the confines of the Russian border to Karachi !

As to small province, I am with you, but if things are politically impossible, well, there is nothing for us to do but to recognise that they are politically impossible, and, *for the time being*, the matter ends there. This, however, does not mean that in course of time it cannot be revived. If Sind is separated, and separation involves inevitably a subsidy, it will be easier later to tack it on to the Punjab, for in these days of economic depression and financial bankruptcy, one cannot afford to be generous even to a starving relation or friend.

On the whole, the conclusion I have reached is that the present time is not opportune for raising this point. It will be attacked on all sides—Punjab, on the financial ground; Sind, on the ground of loss of independence; Bombay, on the ground that if Sind is to be tacked on to someone else, why not to Bombay itself; by Hindus, on the ground of strengthening Muslim position in upper India and by Muslims themselves on the ground of loss of a Muslim province; and by everybody, on the ground that this is another device for delay.

Quiet prevails on most of the fronts, but quiet is not peace.

I am proceeding on four months' leave from the 20th inst. in order to try to improve my health. It is not a political leave, as the public press would have it, to be interested in conferring with the India Office and the Cabinet to influence reforms. As a matter of fact, I am going to spend most of it in a small place called Abbottabad.

In case I succeed in improving my health, I am ready to place what little I know at the disposal of those with whom rests the power to take decisions.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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196. Simla,
29th July, 1932.

My dear Mieville,

With reference to our conversation yesterday regarding the situation in Alwar, I am enclosing a cutting from the *Statesman* of this morning which deals with the grievances of the Muslims with regard to their religious and secular education in Alwar State. Towards the end, it is mentioned that the number of Alwar Muslims who have recently left the State and arrived at Delhi now amounts to 872. This may lead to a serious situation in Gurgaon and Delhi, and I think it would be desirable to make an immediate inquiry from the State as to the causes which have led these people to leave their homes in the State and to migrate to Delhi.

Two other matters that require immediate attention are: the firing on the 29th of May last which resulted, it is alleged, in the death of 2 Muslims, and injuries to several others. It has been repeatedly alleged in the press that this firing was entirely unjustified, and it has even been asserted that it was unauthorized. I have not, so far, seen any authoritative account of the incident issued by the State authorities. It is probable that the State did issue their own version of the incident, but I have not noticed it. If inquiries elicit the fact that the State authorities themselves consider that somebody was to blame in connection with this firing, I think it would add considerably to the prestige of the State and would help to restore confidence if they issued a communique dealing with the matter and stated where the blame lay, and what action had been taken.

The other matter is the question of the representation of persons who have been prosecuted in consequence of the recent disturbances.

The State authorities have refused permission to lawyers from British India to defend such persons, and the position taken up by the State is that only legal practitioners who hold licences for practising in the State can appear in the State Courts. The same position obtains in the British Indian High Courts, but with respect to individual cases, High Courts and Courts subordinate thereto always grant permission as a matter of course to a legal practitioner who is an Advocate of another High Court; and I do not see why with regard to cases that have arisen out of the recent disturbances, the Alwar State should not grant the same concession to lawyers practising in British India as is granted by the various British Indian High Courts to lawyers enrolled in one High Court who seek permission to conduct cases within the jurisdiction of another High Court. This question of representation of accused persons by lawyers from British India led to a great deal of trouble in the case of Kashmir, and the Alwar State authorities would be well advised to adopt the position which the Kashmir authorities eventually adopted on the advice of their Chief Justice.

In my opinion, the whole trouble in Alwar could be easily brought to an end by a symapathetic handling of the situation by the State authorities and by concessions with regard to the free imparting of religious and secular instruction. Restrictions on religious instruction will not be tolerated by the Muslims, and restrictions on secular education, where the funds for such education are provided by the Muslims themselves or by Anjumans interested in Muslim education, merely add to their irritation and to the difficulties of the situation. I do not see why the study of Hindi should be made compulsory and the study of Urdu should be excluded in schools maintained by the Muslims of the State with their own funds or with the help of funds obtained from outside. Nor can I understand the restriction imposed upon the employment of teachers who are being maintained by educational societies or associations outside the State. Surely, the State ought to recognise that such irritating restrictions can only operate to accumulate a store of difficulties for the State authorities and that the time has come when the State must cheerfully accept a more

liberal policy with regard to education and other beneficent departments.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Eric C. Mieville.

P. S.

The latest information I have received with regard to the number of people who have migrated from Alwar city to places outside the State is very much more alarming than what I had been hitherto told. I am informed that by far the largest portion of the Muslim population of Alwar city has migrated from the city to Hissar, Rewari, Gurgaon, Ferozepore Jhirka, Agra, Bharatpur, Ajmer, Jaipur and other places outside the State. The numbers are variously estimated, but at the lowest computation, the total number of people who have migrated to Delhi and to other places mentioned above could not be less than several thousands. The situation has become very serious during the last fortnight, and I am very much afraid that conditions very similar to the Kashmir agitation are likely to arise if the State authorities are not immediately advised to adopt and pursue a more conciliatory policy towards the Muslim subjects of the State.

Private and Confidential.

197.

6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
7th Nov, 1932.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 5th inst.

Thanks very much for the water melons of your Jagir. I can conscientiously certify to their being good. I wish you enjoy them and you will find a great market for them and amass great wealth through them, provided you always supply them to me free.

Re. Jogindra Singh's plan of joint electorates for Sikhs and Muslims on the basis of reservation of seats as fixed by the Prime Minister. Now, why can't you help him a little to have a definite scheme ? I assume what he means is that of the general constituencies, 86 Muslim constituencies and 30 Sikh constituencies should be lumped together, and 116 constituencies framed out of them for Muslims and Sikhs both ; and that of these 116 constituencies, 30 be earmarked as

reserved for Sikhs, the remaining 86 being reserved for Muslims; in each one of these, 116 Muslim and Sikh voters to vote. In other words, in 30 of these 116 constituencies Muslims will not be eligible for election, and in the remaining 86 constituencies Sikhs will not be eligible for election. If this is what Jogindra Singh really means, then before he and I have a talk on the subject, it would be best if he has a talk first with his own moderate friends, and then with the Gurdwara Parbandhak people who claim to rule the Punjab Sikhs. I do not want to be mixed up with talks unless the Sikh community is behind the idea. Otherwise it will be said that I am misleading them, and it will not be realised that as a matter of fact the idea has emanated from Jogindra Singh. There is a strong psychological reason behind my suggestion. If the extremist Sikhs find that Jogindra Singh and I have evolved this plan, they are bound to condemn it at the very start; but if they feel that they have evolved it, they may not later on feel safe to disown it. Don't you think there is a great force in this ?

When are you coming to the President's Confrence ? I shall be glad to put you up when you do come. You will, of course, give me detailed instructions as to how you like to tie in bed and what you want to eat, and what juices you imbibe, and so on.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerly,
Fazl-i-Husain

Ch. Sir Shahabuddin.

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198. New Delhi,
21st November, 1932.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 5th November.

The question you put me this time is of the same sort as you put me last year, and I sent you a detailed reply by the last Air Mail. You say now that if the Hindu delegates clear out of the Conference in case central responsibility is not agreed to, what should the Muslims do? I have no hesitation in answering that query. The attitude of Hindus can have no bearing on the right attitude which the Muslims should adopt and continue to adopt. If non-co-operation is not

right, it cannot become right because the Hindus are leaving the Conference. So, I really do not quite see your difficulty. As I tried to explain to you in my last letter, you should concentrate your mind on what is right, and then adhere to your decision on it, irrespective of what others do or what others try to persuade you to do or not to do, and even of what, in that respect, support you have from the public or not. Because if you are to lead and not to be led, then surely this is the only course for you to adopt. This does not mean that you should refuse to be influenced by public opinion where you have been rather hasty and not taking due stock of the feelings of the public concerned; but under ordinary circumstances the course I have indicated above is the only right course for you to adopt—a course which in life is bound to pay in the long run.

The Allahabad Conference has come to an end. The Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference and the Jamiat-i-Ulema have met here and passed resolutions of which you must have already been apprised before now, and the short notice question which Sind has put and has been replied to; and the position is clear, firstly, that Sind in all probability will be separated. You should have no difficulty in persuading the R. T. C. to do it. Sapru has always been very reasonable on this subject as on many others. The financial obstacle has disappeared by Sindhis offering to find 12 lakhs or so for additional expenditure; so, the matter is practically one which might be treated as settled.

As regards representation at the centre, if there is Federation, you must work hard to get at least 33 1/3rd% assessing the British Indian share on population basis as against the share of the Indian States. Don't be misled by the offers of Indian States that they will appoint Muslims to the extent of one-third. I know that formerly they adopted the attitude that they excluded all communal considerations, but in order to secure your agreement if they make new promises by reserving one-third for Muslims, try to treat that as irrelevant, and say that in the case of British India you are entitled to one-third of the share to which British India is entitled, and if the Hindus are so generous as to let Indian States have more than their population basis, that is their own look out. This is extremely important.

I trust you will show this to His Highness the Aga Khan and also to Zafrulla. I trust you will be looking after Jahan Ara who is all by herself, and must be, off and on, feeling the absence of her father. I am sure Zafrulla also will be very nice and kind to her and discuss various matters with her so that she may not feel either being neglected or excluded.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

199.

3, Durand Road,
Lahore,
22nd November, 1932.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab wish to have joint electorates on terms set forth in the accompanying note. The proportion in services is not mentioned in it, but they agree to reserve 50% for Mulims. If you are inclined to consider the proposal favourably, please let us know the lines on which we should proceed. They say that if you are favourably inclined, Pandit Malvia and other non-Muslim leaders will come to you for settling details. Waiting for an early reply.

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahabuddin

Private and confidential.

200.

New Delhi,
23rd November, 1932.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 22nd with enclosure. This sort of suggestion after the subject has been thrashed out for years can hardly be said to be businesslike. Will you kindly have it completed in these respects? Does it mean the elimination of special constituencies—University, Commerce & Industry, Labour, landlords, Tummandars? If not, how many of these ten are to be credited towards 102, 40 and 56? Again, is it intended that Europeans and Anglo-Indians should have separate

electorates or not? Again, in case Christians desire reservation, on what basis that reservation is to take place. How costituencies are to be selected for that purpose? Again, is this to be a part of the All-India scheme, or to be independent? And once more, is the raising of the number from 175 to 200 an integral part of the suggestion?

Do I take it that our friend Jogi's proposal to have joint electorates of Sikhs and Muslims on the basis of seats reserved in the Prime Minister's decision has been dropped by him, or have you dropped it?

Now I am answering your letter of the 22nd on the 23rd, and you cannot say that I have made you wait for a reply.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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201. 6 King Edward Road, New Delhi
24th November, 1932

My dear Amir Din,

I find from the papers that Sheikh Hisamuddin who styles himself as President of the All-India Ahrar Party proposes to hold a public meeting at Lahore on the 2nd of December with the object of supporting the Allahabad proposal, and against the Delhi Resolution and the Award. His statement to the press is couched in a spirit of bravado. No one dare hold a public meeting or speak at it in favour of separate electorates and more than 51% for Muslims. I cannot believe that the Muslim public of Lahore are of that view. The issue for the Punjab is as follows:

Under the Government decision, we get more than 51 and separate electorates. Allahabad decision restricts us to 51 and no more and wants to modify the mode of election as well. Then there is the third point that while the Govt. hold that the Punjab should have the same sort of autonomy as other provinces, the Allahabad decision says we should have all the safeguards that have been evolved at Allahabad and amount to negation of self-government and responsibility. These are the three main points and on all these three

there can be no doubt whatsoever that Muslim Punjab will be on one side.

Now as to the ways and means—All the miscellaneous institutions of the youth and others should be canvassed; all Anjumans should combine and after Jumma prayers on the 2nd of December hold this meeting. I am sure if the volunteers and the Mohalladars and all classes and specially the masses are approached, a success like the one we achieved in 1924 in the Muslim League annual meeting can be achieved. Excellent speakers from amongst the Ulemas and the working classes and the educated classes should be secured, and a large number of people to clap them. You had better consult Haji Rahim Bakhsh, Mehr Shuja, Ghulam Mohyuddin, and to do the needful. In the case of miscellaneous organizations and volunteers, they may need uniforms or flags, and in this matter Haji Rahim Bakhsh will be able to assist. You can also ask Mirza Yakub Beg and others to join in and all together take advantage of the occasion to settle this matter for good. In case the Legislature is in session, you can get some councillors to speak. If you can make your arrangements *pukka*, it is quite possible that Ahrars may think better of it and not secede from the position they took up last year.

Show this to Malik Sahib and let me know what steps are being taken.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

The Daily "Hamdam".

202. Lucknow, 4th December 1932

My Dear Sir Fazle Husain,

I hope you read the Daily Hamdam and approve of what we write. I closely follow your policy because I honestly believe there is no Muslim leader in India more devoted to the community than yourself and I never failed to give expression to this feeling. This is my honest opinion and not inspired by any base motive but the "Hind" of Calcutta writes that like the Inqilab Hamdam is your paper and says ditto to what you say. This is because I advise caution in the settlement of communal differences. There is one

good thing however. So far as the Muslim intelligentsia in this province and C. P. is concerned they value our advice and as Mr Jafri or Hafiz Vilayatula will tell you Daily Hamdam is the only paper which has any influence on them. This sending the paper to the educated voters which was advised by my friend Sir Mohammad Yakub means a lot of expense to me but has proved very profitable in this respect that most of those who stand for public opinion draw their inspirations from the Hamdam. You would have seen from the C. I. D. reports that our circulation now exceeds the Inqilab, and I am now pushing the paper in Bihar and Bengal. My experience now is that people in villages appreciate honest opinion more than people in cities who come in contact with politicians and if we could capture even one fourth of the voters in every province it will be a great success. Unfortunately most of them are illiterate and cannot subscribe to the paper and the Electoral Rolls are wrong. They contain many names which do not exist and our paper comes back undelivered through the D.L.O.You shall be glad to hear that in order to cope with the huge work pertaining to our office the Post Office, even in these days of financial stringency, have opened a post office exclusively for our use called the "Hamdam Post Office".

I hope my son Khalilullah who is in Delhi meets you frequently. I have no ambitions now and have completely retired from life but those who will do a good turn to my son will earn my gratitude and blessings. I know how kind you have been to him and I shall never forget it. I sent him to England for the I. C. S. but he joined the Patiala service and now finds himself a victim of princely vicissitudes. You who have dedicated your life to the service of Mussalmans will not fail to help him if necessity arises. I am very sorry Dr Ziauddin has been going about maligning us. When I was away from here there appeared an article in which certain unpalatable remarks were passed on him. Since then he started his campaign of vilification and I had to go to court for defamation but as soon as he offered an explanation I withdrew the case. But he appears to be mortally offended and is going about maligning not only my poorself but my son as well. Does it befit a leader of his position to

use personal malice in this way to mar the future of an innocent boy who has not harmed him in any way.

They are organising meetings everywhere in support of the Allahabad pact. I wish Sir Yakoob will act on my advice and address all the representative institutions such as District Boards, Municipalities and Legis Councils and ask their Muslim members to convene meetings of members and pass opinion on the settlement.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Abdullah Khan

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203. 6, King Edward Road, New Delhi,
5th December, 1932.

My dear Shahbuddin,

Yours of the 3rd and its enclosure.

I am afraid you are devoting yourself and your brain entirely to the collection of filthy lucre and digging gold out of the land which possesses saltpetre only. I have no desire to prevent your becoming a millionaire, but I do think that you should not devote all God-given brain power to serve private ambitions only, but devote a part of it to matters of public interest. Now, I should like you to examine the statement which you have sent to me and let me have a well-considered note on it, critically examining it from the Muslim point of view, and stating its good points and its weak points: so that I may judge whether your brain power is still intact and whether your knowledge is to-day as up to date as it used to be in the past.

I think you, like me, would like to know whether, in the matter of the special constituencies which it is proposed to raise from 10 to 16 the electorates of special constituencies will reflect the population of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, as it is intended, should be reflected in the electorates of general constituencies. It is difficult to express an opinion until you have furnished me with this information.

With best wishes,

I ramain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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204. 6, King Edward Road, New Delhi
6th December, 1932

My dear Abdullah Khan,

Yours of the 4th December.

I look through The Daily Hamdam with great interest. I have been observing a keen contest going on in your own mind—your anxiety, at times almost pathetic, for peace with our Hindu fellow countrymen; your disillusionment as efforts towards peace are repulsed and eventually fail. This is very sad. But then how can you help it. A make-believe peace is no peace. It is only deception, and the insidious propaganda carried on to revile Muslims in India has produced results in the shape of an intensely selfish and anti-Muslim mentality bent upon subjugating either by absorption or by economic degradation, followed by social and political degradation of the Muslim community; and the question is: Is this in the interest of India (not to speak of the interest of the Muslim community)? Obviously, it is not; for, if Muslim and Western influences are withdrawn from India, it is bound to relapse quickly into pre-Muslim intolerance, selfishness, inhumanity, leading to revolution. How Brahmanism overcame Buddhism and exterminated it and set up an inhuman and intensely selfish system of society and government, till, in its turn, it was checked by Muslim influence, is a matter of recent history. However, we should never refuse to explore all possible proposals to bring about peace between the communities.

I am afraid most of the Hindu press misjudge me. It is wrong to say that *Inquilab* or the Muslim press at large follow me or my policy. The truth is that they and I follow the same policy and in dealing with different problems, independently of each other, arrive at the same conclusions. This is a very healthy sign showing that the spirit of independent inquiry, investigation and the way of presenting the conclusions reached are luckily becoming uniform and general. I wish your paper every success, and I have no doubt every well-wisher of India will join me in doing so.

I have had the pleasure of meeting your son Khalilullah and was very much impressed by his personality. I have not seen him

for some time and have not yet been able to get hold of his address. I shall be glad to see him and advise him in any matter in which he may care to seek my advice. I very strongly deprecate leading Muslims carrying on a feud, and shall be glad to put an end to the feud you refer to when I have seen your son and obtained more information on the subject.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Nawab Abdullah Khan Sahib of Khasmandi,
"The Daily Hamdam",
Lucknow.

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205. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, 6th December, 1932

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of 5th. If you are inclined to have joint electorates in the Punjab, kindly send a statement of terms on which further negotiations may be held. If you do not wish to have joint electorates at all, say so, and the matter ends; but if you wish to have them, please let me know your terms and conditions. If Hindus and Sikhs accept those terms, well and good; otherwise all further negotiations shall be stopped. I have yet got some brain power, but I don't wish to spend it. Nothing is so perfect under this dome of Heaven that no objection can be raised against it. You are to lead and I am to follow. Let me know your final decision in detail, if it is in the affirmative; otherwise a mere "no" will do.

As I intend to go again to the Chak, please reply at your earliest convenience.

With best wishes,

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahabuddin

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206. New Delhi, 7th December, 1932.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 6th.

This is not at all fair. You must tell me whether in the case of special constituencies the voting list is to stand as it is or is to be revised on the same principle as the list of voters of general constituencies. I cannot give you my opinion without this information.

It is a pity that you do not concentrate your mind on the problem and give me the benefit of your opinion. I have never professed to be infallible, and I cannot feel confident in my own judgment unless I have had the benefit of consulting my friends and if my friends will not tell me frankly their own opinions, then all I can say is that they are not treating me fairly.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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207. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, 8th December, 1932.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of 7th. The statement forwarded with my letter of the 3rd instant was dictated in my presence and with my concurrence. Your objection as to how population will be reflected in the voting strength of the University Constituency is quite valid. But the idea was that only the Fellows of the University will be voters and that election will be by single non-transferable vote. In my opinion the University must have among others at least one Muslim representative.

Population strength will not be reflected even in the case of Land-holders and Labour, but our number is so large there that a resort to the single non-transferable vote system shall be unnecessary. In *Tumandars* Constituency non-Muslims shall have no hand at all ; in the Constituency of Commerce, Muslims and Europeans will be able to elect a desirable Hindu.

You will observe that if we get 90 out of 175 seats, our percentage shall be $51\frac{3}{7}$ or 51.43. You will also observe that Hindus, including Harijans will get only 47 seats; while Sikhs will get 34 seats, that is to say 19.43 or $19\frac{3}{7}$ per cent.

If the principle of joint electorates with reservation of seats is accepted, the above distribution is not unfair. However, the decision rests with you, and, therefore, any terms and conditions which you may suggest shall be faithfully acted upon, and if they are not acceptable to Hindus and Sikhs, negotiations shall break at once.

I intend to leave for my Chak in the afternoon of 10th and shall be obliged if your reply reaches me before my departure.

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

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208. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
16th December, 1932.

My dear Abdullah,

Affairs at the Round Table Conference in London are approaching a crisis, and as part of that crisis the Allahabad Conference is trying to push Muslim India into a position wherefrom they could not ever rise again and assume their position and status in the country. Strenuous efforts, as you know, have been made during November and are being continued now, as the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha have no desire to be just to Muslim claims. Their efforts cannot succed unless it be through your own negligence. I have noticed that your efforts in setting the matter about Sind right have been crowned with a large measure of success. Sind opinion has generally condemned the Allahabad offer as to the separation of Sind. Bhattoo and others who were flirting with the Allahabad Conference have realised the mistake they made and are now strong champions of the Muslim Conference view. Now the next work is to make the Conference and Jamiat-i-Ulema sessions at Calcutta next Christmas week a success. Some Calcutta Muslims have awakened to the importance of the occasion and are really working towards success. The Nawab of Dacca has definitely promised to be present.

Abdul Hafeez and others are going there. Abdullah Suhrawardy and others have taken active steps in making both these meetings successful. I think it is necessary that you should be present, and present a few days before the actual meeting so that you may contribute towards the success of the gathering. The fact that you have been in England and Ottawa renders this all the more necessary.

I understand you have already paid Rs. 200/- towards affairs, and I suppose Rs. 500/- is being sent for the running expenses of the Conference office. Now it is for consideration what can be spared to make good the deficit of the Calcutta meeting in case there is a deficit. I trust there will be no wastage. As a great deal depends upon the success of these gatherings, I feel that you should be prepared to meet the deficit, if any, to the extent of two-thirds of the funds promised to be made available recently. I shall be glad if you will let me know when you are likely to reach Calcutta and for how long you are going to stay there. I wanted very much to be there myself, but I have to open the Economic Conference here on the 2nd January and then attend an Executive Council meeting at Calcutta on the 4th, so it is altogether impossible for me to do so.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon.

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209. Motipur Zemindary Co. Ltd.
Motipur P. O.
B. & N. W. Ry.
18th December, 1932.

My Dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks for your letter of 16th instant.

I am very much pleased to learn that the Muslim conference of Calcutta will be positively successful as the honourable Bengalee members have promised to attend. But very much regret to say that my long absence of 6 or 7 weeks from Karachi is a bar to my attending this meeting and now I am forced to go there as my presence is badly needed.

After Karachi I have to come again to this place in the 1st week of January next. Here, as all work is beginning, so I have to make all sorts of contracts by that time and therefore am very much sorry that I am unable to comply your suggestions.

I have already informed Moulana Shafee Daoodi to take Rs. 1,000/- (Rupees one thousand) from my partner's office, Seth Abdul Rahim Oosman Sahib, No. 2. Rajmohan Street Calcutta. Besides I have asked my partner to help Maulana in raising subscriptions in Calcutta.

I am glad to learn that the claim of Sind will crown with success. Owing to some effort regarding Sind all the respectable and responsible persons of Sind came forward to condemn the resolution of Allahabad conference and I hope they will be continuing their condemnation in this way.

I am leaving Motipur on or about 20th instant. Probably I will be in Calcutta by the end of the 1st week of January next to place some orders for my business ; So I will try my best to see you there.

Yours sincerely,
Abdullah Haroon

———

210. Home Member of Council,
New Delhi,
22nd December 1932.

Dear Sir Fazli,

With reference to your note of 14th December dealing with the Press communique regarding the I. C. S. examination, I think all the points which you mention will be arising during our discussions in Calcutta. We are putting up for Council two separate cases;

(1) the whole problem of the representation of Muslims and other minorities in the Services;

(2) the question of the method of recruitment for the I. C. S. The first of these will cover (a) and (c) of your note, and the second will cover (b). (a) and (c) really raise questions in regard to the machinery for giving effect to our policy, whatever it may be, but we shall, of course, be discussing the much larger question of whether any change in the statement of that policy is required. With regard

to (c), nominations may be made from those who appear either at the Delhi or at the London examination.

Yours sincerely,
Harry Haig

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., Kt.
Member of Council.

I may add that the mention of one Ceylonese in the communique was misleading. He is not treated as belonging to a minority community.

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211. Larkana (Sind)
28th December, 1932

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

We are extremely gratified to learn that His Majesty's Government have after all fulfilled our expectations about the Sind Separation problem which now, thanks to your efforts, is a complete fact. The Moslems of Sind are conscious of the fact that you have contributed to a very large extent towards theii success in this matter and I take this opportunity to thank you most warmly on their behalf.

We sincerely trust that you would kindly continue to take the same interest in our affairs and see that the temporary subvention is given to us without any further hitch. We will be looking forward to you for guidance in all matters and at all times.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

The Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Hussain,
K. C. I. E.,
Member Government of India,
NEW DELHI.

———

Private and strictly confidential.

212. 30th December, 1932.

My dear Amir Din,

Yours of the 29th. I am very glad you are now well. I trust you will be careful because influenza is a very weakening ailment and leaves effect behind.

Herewith a letter from Mr Brentford. His name was suggested to me by Col. Sodi who thought that he would charge Rs. 200/- or Rs. 300/- for preparing plans and elevation and detailed estimates. When I was in Lahore in October, you said he would charge Rc. 400/- and I said you had better engage him. Now his letter speaks of 3 fees for three separate items of work and does not talk of the bungalow as a whole but of the main portion of the building and so on. The fees mount up to Rs. 600/- which, at a cost of Rs. 40 thousand, work out at 1½%. Whatever the fair remuneration may be, please settle it yourself and get the work done. I give you full authority to make a settlement as to terms with Mr. Brentford or any other Architect. A copy of my reply to him is enclosed.

As to Ahrars, I have seen the cutting. They had wavered at Allahabad and in fact it was given out that they had accepted all this. It may be that this is an attempt on the part of Maulana Daood Ghuznavi to get out of it. But this will not be enough unless they take some strong and active step in that direction. Now you see the London R. T. C. has decided the question of Sind separation unconditionally, so under the London decision in the matter of Sind Muhammedans get a larger number of seats, separate electorates and no conditions on the authority of the Council other than those which exist in all other provinces, while the Allahabad decision is for Muslims less seats, joint electorates, conditions as to authority of Legislature, constitution of Cabinet, &c., &c. Conditions are of a most demeaning and unbearable kind. The same applies to the Punjab. I do not see how any man possessed of the smallest bit of conscience can agree to the imposition of conditions which are derogatory to the self-respect of even a worm.

It is rumoured that Alwar's visit to Allahabad was not altogether unconnected with the Ahrar threat . . . .

(*Incomplete*)

(Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain)

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213. 31st December, 1932.

My Dear Khuhro,

Yours of the 28th inst.

Most hearty congratulations on the Secretary of State's meeting your request so well and so generously. Sind has now got the same status as any other province, except in the matter of finance, where it is bound to have a subvention because it always had one, which it is hoped and believed will continue to grow less till it disappears. I wish Sind every success. The shortsightedness of a certain section of Sind Hindus has done India a great harm because they propounded the idea that a minority should have the right to dictate to the majority of what to do and what not to do. This meant lack of confidence and trust, and, in its absence, democratic reforms cannot work. Hence, the inevitable safeguard with which the Governors have been invested. I am sure the future historian will hold a certain section of Sind Hindus and a certain section of Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab responsible for the great disservice to the cause of their country's advance.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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214. New Delhi,
9th January, 1933.

Dear Lord Irwin,

Thanks awfully for yours of the 7th December.

I am so glad you have been finding Zafrulla helpful.

So, you have got through the third Round Table Conference. There is an Oriental proverb which says : It is easier to invoke the genii than to bottle them up again. I wonder whether the organizing

of the Conference was more difficult than the winding up of it, and I wonder whether it is wound up yet.

For one thing, it is a blessing that the Ordinances are no more. Weren't you a little bit surprised to see how easily the ordinance legislation passed through provincial and central Legislatures. When I say 'easily', I mean by a large majority. Of course, it involved a good deal of labour, but then that was inevitable.

It is a pity that the problem of reforms is not yet concluded. It is bound to make for the continuance of disturbed conditions. Any decision is better than no decision.

Economic conditions continue to be bad. The real danger to settled government may be coming that way. However, let us hope for the best. The Congress has made itself unpleasant all round, and is probably at a lower ebb to-day than it has been during the last quarter of a century.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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215. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
26th January, 1933.

Dear Shahabuddin,

The papers say that Raja Narendar Nath and some leading Hindus and Sikhs are holding public lectures in various towns of the Punjab against the Muslim majority in the reformed Council. The first meeting has already been held in Ferozepur. Then, this is a funny way of pursuing the peace proposals which you understood were genuine and had the support of Hindu and Sikh communities. I shall be glad to know to what extent the press report is correct ; and in case it is correct, is it to be understood that those peace proposals are dropped by the Hindu and Sikh communities, and that the Muslim community is free to counteract the propaganda that has been started by the Hindu and Sikh communities ? It is obvious that this is bound to do a very great deal of harm by straining the relations of the communities. But if the position is forced upon the Muslims by

their neighbours, they cannot but do their duty in the matter and enlighten the province as what the real siuation is; *viz*, that Hindus and Sikhs constitute but one community constituting about 41% of the population, that they are not entitled to any more than 41% and under the Reforms are being given 46%, which is obviously unfair.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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216. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore,
30th January, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of 26th. On 20th December last I went straight from you to Sikander and handed over a copy of your typed note to him. I understand that he met Jogi and Narang in the first week of this month and that they accepted your suggestion to reflect population in voting strength and also agreed not to reserve any of the seats, which the Premier had declared to be filled by un-reserved joint electorate.

I have seen Sikander and shown him your letter of the 26th inst. He says that his colleagues have accepted everything but that we should wait for a few days and see how far they are anxious and what turn the solution of the Central problem takes. It is apprehended that if our settlement with Hindus and Sikhs is published before the question of responsibility at Centre is finally decided, it might prejudice our cause.

The final draft of settlement on lines approved by you and accepted by Jogi and Narang has not been drawn up yet. Both, Sikander and I wish that as soon as the question of responsibility at the Centre is decided and the final agreement drafted, both these gentlemen should see you personally and sign the agreement in your presence after such verbal or material changes, if any, as you may deem proper to suggest.

When do you hope to pay your next visit to Lahore?

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

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217. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
1st February, 1933.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 30th January.

I am afraid I find it difficult to understand it. What is meant by "it might prejudice our cause", and how can it prejudice by agreement with Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab, and what connection has responsibility at the Centre with it?

Then you proceed to say that we can proceed with settlement only after the question of responsibility at the Centre is decided. Then where was the necessity for entering into conversation before that decision was made? You have not answered my question. If Hindus and Sikhs in any way share the views of Jogi and Narang in this matter, how is it that Raja Narendra Nath and others are carrying on agitation propaganda?

Under these circumstances, don't you think it would be best to treat these conversations as meaning nothing and to act as if they had not taken place?

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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218. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, 3rd February, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of 1st. You have rightly criticised my letter of 30th January last. It was only an half-hearted attempt to answer your letter. Sikander and Narang have gone to Bahawalpur, but before leaving Lahore they agreed to the enclosed draft, which I have just received from Sir Jogendra Singh. Please return it after such modifications or corrections as you may deem proper to make, and that will be the final draft. If they agree to sign it, we shall have it signed, otherwise negotiations shall end.

As to the propaganda which Hindus and Sikhs are doing in the province, they say that it shall stop as soon as the communal agreement is signed.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

219. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
8th February, 1933.

My dear Shahab Din,

Yours of the 3rd February.

I herewith enclose a note relating to the draft you sent me.

Para 6.

You say Sikandar has agreed to it. If he is satisfied that a fairly substantial majority of Muslims are in favour of the Public Services Commission being manned by 3, one from each community, and this is really so, I will offer no opposition; but my advice to him and you is to make sure of your facts so that there may not be later an outcry against you concerning it.

Last sheet, Strength of the Cabinet.

Do you really think that the other matter and this are such as to be embodied in an agreement and placed before Government; or do

you intend these to be understandings between leaders of communities or community ? If the latter, they must be made public.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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220. 51 Lower Mall, Lahore.
16th February, 1933.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Just a line to inform you that Chaudhri Sahib showed me your letter regarding the communal agreement. It appears that Chaudhri Sahib sent you the draft enclosed with your letter without looking at it. I never saw the draft until it was shown to me by Chaudhri Sahib day before yesterday. I certainly do not agree with the provision regarding the complexion of the Public Services Commission. Apart from its being unacceptable on merits, it cannot be included in any pact as the matter is governed by an Act of Legislature and an unfettered discretion is vested in the Governor regarding the appointment of the President and members of the Commission. If I had seen the draft before it was sent I would have certainly objected to it. All that I am prepared to agree to, subject to your approval, is the principle regarding the reflection of population in the electoral rolls and subject to this basic principle to the method of election proposed in the draft provided the number of . . . .

(Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat)

[*Incomplete*]

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221. **Private.**

Ministry of Agriculture,
Punjab Government,
Lahore.
25th Feb. 1933.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I have discussed the formula with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Dr. Gokal Chand. We have revised it as you will see from the enclosed draft, and propose to adopt the constituencies formed by the Elections Commissioner.

I am enclosing herewith the note describing proposed constituencies. They can of course be modified wherever necessary. I think your proposal to have single member constituencies is the best; of course every voter will have to vote three times. Kindly let me hear from you early so that I may proceed to get all signatures.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

The Hon'ble K.B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Member for Education, Health and Lands,
Government of India, New Delhi.

Enclosures-Two.

Kindly return the Encls. marked (1)

222.

Ministry of Agriculture,
Punjab Government,
Lahore.
27th Feb, 1933.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am sending you herewith the final draft, which has been approved by a large number of friends. I however see one difficulty in accepting the constituencies as proposed by the Reforms Commissioner. These constituencies will be almost unmanageable, and we shall have to find some other way of giving interpretation to your formula that wherever there is the largest number of voters of a community, there its constituency should be formed. But what about the outlying districts ? Please let me know some solution.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

The Hon'ble K.B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Member for Education, Health and Lands,
Govt. of India, New Delhi.

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223. Lahore,
2nd March 1933.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Chaudhri Zafar Ullah has brought your message to me and Sir Sikander and Firoz will now be with you. If you could manage to distribute the 161 seats alloting each district its quota by communities it will greatly facilitate matters. Then the constituencies can be formed on the principle which you have enunciated. The main thing people want to be assured are that representation of each community would be fairly distributed all over the province. In the case of urban constituencies, so far as the Sikhs are concerned, you will also have to find a new formula: but kindly decide these matters so that we may finish this business immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

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Private & confidential.

224. 14 March, 1933.

Dear Mehr,

Please see the "Light" of 8th March, 1933,—"Child Marriage & Islam", pages 3 and 4 of this issue. I cannot help thinking that in this matter, the Muslim public has not been given the right lead by the Vernacular Muslim press. Child marriage has been a curse of the Hindu Society for a long, long time and it was the influence of Muslim culture on it that has awakened the Hindu conscience against it, and it is a great pity that what is the victory of Muslim culture in India should be converted into a defeat, by Muslims condemning the Child Marriage Act and by implication standing out for child marriage.

There has been confusion of ideas. Child marriage is a custom or practice and is perhaps not against the express orders of Sheriat, but a reform movement condemning it where such a practice has crept into the Muslim society is fully justified. I have all along thought that the right thing to do is to condemn child marriage and to say that reform movement is sound because this evil exists in Bengal. Then the question of how to bring about that reform move-

ment arises. Surely, it is open to the Muslim society in India to bring about that reform, and the one way to bring about this Ajma-i-Ummat is to utilize the Muslim section of the Legislature for this purpose. This is, however, not the main point on which I want you to give a lead. The main point is the child marriage amongst Muslims in India exists but to a small extent, and that in Bengal; that it is a practice which in the present day conditions of India is injurious and harmful and be stopped; and that as long as it is made perfectly clear that the reform is imposed on Muslims by Muslims themselves, the movement is worthy of all support. As a matter of fact, Muslim women generally are against child marriage, and a section of Muslims is also in support of it, while a substantial section of the extreme orthodox wing are for it.

This is being written to *you* only and is not one of the circular letters issued to papers.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Mr. Ghulam Rasul Mehr,
Lahore.

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225. Lahore,
29th March, 1933.

Dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

You must have been wondering not hearing any more from me about the compromise. But I can assure you that I have been steadily working at it, and I am glad to say that the Hindus are in complete agreement and though amongst the Sikhs there is a difference of opinion the large majority are in our favour and I will be able to get signature of almost all the members of the Legislative Council except three and a large number of outsiders.

There is only one difficulty which is bothering me. It is in regard to the reflection of population in the electorate. People have no objection to a uniform franchise which would reflect proportion of each community in the electorate, but they jibe at the idea of a differential franchise. Can you suggest some means which would bring the proportion of the Muslim population into the electorate without introducing a differential franchise. The only solution that

appeals to me is the Group system which has been accepted in most of the Eastern countries. We can then enfranchise the whole of adult population and simplify the whole system. Another rough and ready method which can be adopted is to enfranchise the whole adult male population, but allow each household to nominate one representative to exercise the vote on its behalf.

Kindly let me know what you think of the idea. I entirely rely on you to find some solution of this difficulty, and I am quite sure your fertile brain will discover some workable formula. Your formula regarding Constituencies is the best that could be discovered.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jogi

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226. 31st March, 1933.

My dear Jogendra Singh,

Yours of the 29th March.

You will no doubt recall that I did not undertake to discover ways and means or formulae to attain the object you had in view but I did undertake to examine and examine most sympathetically such suggestions as you were anxious to be considered. You told me that you saw but two ways of having the population of the three communities reflected in their voting registers, franchise varying with communities or arithmetical adjustment, and you preferred the former. You say the Hindus are in complete agreement. This is satisfactory. Then why not, as a beginning, let Hindus and Muslims arrive at this agreement and see how it works, and the Khalsa can come in later if they like. The two suggestions that you have made, you know, have been considered by the Franchise Committee and rejected.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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227. Lahore,
3rd April, 1933.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am so glad to get your letter, and I am hoping to secure agreement of all responsible Sikhs. We are holding a Conference in Peshawar on the 15th, where we shall all meet and discuss this matter. But on sentimental grounds there seems a strong feeling that there should be no differential franchise. I think we can meet this objection by lowering the franchise and making it applicable to all. The Sikhs in any case cannot get any more votes than their population. So the effect of lowering the franchise would be the same. I have obtained signatures of almost all the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council except the following :

1. S. Ujjal Singh.
2. S. Sampuran Singh.
3. S. Bishen Singh.
4. S. Arjan Singh.

Sardars Bishen Singh and Arjan Singh will, I think, append their signatures in a day or so, but I am not sure about the other two.

The news, as you must have seen, has some how leaked out, and the 'Eastern Times' had a leading article opposing it. Some of the Vernacular papers have also taken up the matter. The Hindu papers have expressed no opinion beyond expressing their unbelief in the truth of the rumour.

The settlement of the communal question has become something of a religion with me and if God wishes we will be able to put up a compromise. I wonder if the Government will accept it. In any case we would have done our best and the decision must rest with God.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jogi

P.S.
Arjan Singh has signed it. J.S.

228. The Daily Siyasat, Lahore.
3rd April, 1933.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

Giyani Kartar Singh is now sitting by me. Since the day that he gave certain papers to me (the papers that I in turn sent on to you) I have seen him only just now.

You returned those papers to me with the remarks that I had not read them. In fact I had done so and I interpreted this remark as meaning that the papers contained nothing new and were therefore not worthy of serious consideration. I knew that the papers were not what I expected them to be, but, I did not consider myself justified in asking the Giyani Sahib to change these. Am I to do that ?

You must have seen the published gist of a communal agreement. The Giyaniji tells me that the same hitherto lacked the signatures of Sir Jogi who was waiting for the verdict of the Khalsa Darbar. This Khalsa Darbar, as you know, is the biggest and most important political body in the Sikh Community and I am informed by the Giyaniji that the body has rejected the proposed agreement in toto.

The Giyaniji is averse to being a party to handing over any written paper whieh may prove a block to the efforts of Sir Jogi and his friends who are making efforts in this sense. He wishes me to request you to kindly let me know, in confidence, if the following conditions can form the basis of Sikh Moslem Pact in the Punjab and if not you may kindly suggest your own amendments. If by so doing a hope is created we may proceed further. His conditions are :

1. Sikh agree to Separate Electorates till Moslem themselves give that method up. Sikh agree because Moslems insist upon it.
2. If following safeguards are provided the Sikhs shall waive their objections to the Statutory Majority of the Moslems.
   a. The Moslem Majority to be only nominal. (I believe he is prepared to accept the Communal Award in this behalf).
   b. Provincial Cabinet to have adequate Sikh representation which should not be less than one in any case. This is to be secured by Instrument of Instructions.
   c. Only one Sikh to be put in the Public Services Commission. Moslems may have as many as they like.

d. Sikh share in the services to be not less than 20%.

e. Grants-in-Aid, Religious Endowments, Liberty of Religion and other similar rights to be embodied in the Constitution.

f. Safe-guards on the line of 3 (a) Punjab Formula in Allahabad Pact. (This he insists upon though he and his friends are prepared to give serious consideration to any alternative that may be suggested).

g. Moslems to support Sikh claim for 5% seats in the Central Legislatures and one seat in the Central Cabinet if possible.

h. Sikhs in consideration of (g) shall support all Moslem demands. (14 Points).

i. Seats in Punjab Legislature to be redivided as under

Moslems.......................................Nominal Majority.

Hindus and others..........................As communal award.

Sikhs..Balance.

With best regards,

Yours Sincerely,
Syed Habib

Hon'ble Sir Mian Fazl-i-Hussain Sahib, Kt.,
M.A., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Bar-at-Law,
Education Member,
Government of India,
NEW DELHI.

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229. 3rd April, 1933.

Dear Shahabdin,

You assured me that the Sikhs wanted to have joint electorates with Muslims. Herewith a copy of Jogindra Singh's letter and my reply to it. If all this was to lead to nothing, you might have shown some consideration to a friend who has always respected your time and health and not made him pursue a will-o'-the-wisp. Am I to take it that the matter is off so far as the Sikhs are concerned, and tell me what the position is so far as the Hindus are concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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230. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
7th April, 1933.

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of the 3rd instant with enclosures has been shown, as required, to Sikander and will be shown to Firoz as well.

Herewith a copy of Sir Jogendra Singh's letter dated the 5th instant with an enclosure.[1] The agreement is signed by 9 Sikh Members of the Council and 1 Sikh member of the Assembly, and if its terms are approved by you, Sir Jogendra Singh undertakes to have it signed by about 300 more Sardars.

The first and the principal term of the agreement is apparently based upon Jogendra Singh's interview with you. It was not shown to me before. Apparently it is intended to give "franchise varying with communities," as agreed to in your letter of 31st March to his address. So, if you approve the terms of the agreement, I will ask him to proceed further. Last evening I happened to meet Raja Narendra Nath on the Mall. He says that there can be no joint electorates unless Sikhs also join. I am just sending to him and Dr. Narang a copy of the agreement on which Jogendra Singh has obtained a few signatures of Sikhs, and hope to hear from them before long.

Whether negotiations succeed or fail, my responsibility for the result shall be neither more nor less than that of my comrades. I have played my part with the best intention in the interest of my community. I am unable to understand what you mean by saying "you might have shown some consideration to a friend who has always respected your time and health". I need hardly assure you that I have always shown and shall continue to show to my last my highest considerations to you. In me you will never find an untrue and an insincere friend. Come what may, I am

Ever yours
Shahabuddin

———

1. pp. 259-61 *infra*.

(*Copy*)

Lahore,
5th April, 1933.

Dear Sir Shahabuddin,

I am forwarding herewith the agreement signed by almost all the members of the Punjab Provincial Council and also by Sardar Jawahar Singh of the Legislative Assembly, except Sardars Ujjal Singh and Sampuran Singh who are still doubtful. Sardar Raghbir Singh has promised to sign and I can send the note to him any day you like for signature. Sardar Buta Singh Member of the Council of State will also sign. He is my own son-in-law. I will get the signatures of all the Sardars of the Punjab to this agreement at the Sikh Educational Conference which takes place on the 15th instant at Peshawar. I am hoping to get it ratified by a large number of leading men. This ought to be satisfactory and I can assure you that I will do my best to carry things through.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

It is hereby agreed:

1. that the franchise qualifications of the three communities, the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs, be so modified as to reflect the population of each community in the voting register;
2. that the electorates shall be joint;
3. that so far as the Punjab Legislative Council is concerned the 161 general seats allotted in the Premier's award to the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs (as distinct from and exclusive of the ten special seats and also of the four seats allotted to the European, Anglo Indian and Indian Christian communities) shall be distributed among 161 single member constituencies as proposed by the Reforms Commissioner of the Punjab.

It is also agreed that the safeguards devised for minority communities in other provinces would apply to minority communities in the Punjab also.

It is agreed that each clause of the above clauses is an essential part of the agreement.

It is requested that the communal award given by His Majesty's Government be modified in accordance with this agreement.

Sd. Jawahar Singh M.L.A.
Sd. Buta Singh Member Council of State
Sd. Arjan Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Bishan Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Jogendra Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Mohan Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Gur Bachan Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Guru Jaswant Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Janmeja Singh M.L.C.
Sd. Jawahar Singh Dhillon M.L.C.

1. Para. 1 re. franchise in Sir Jogindra Singh's draft is acceptable.
2. Para. 2 in Sir Jogindra Singh's draft is acceptable.
3. Para. 3 in Sir Jogendra Singh's draft contains two distinct matters—

(a) Reservation of 161 general seats for Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims.

(b) Formation of constituencies.

It will make for clearness if the two ideas were separated. The following is suggested for consideration—

"That so far as the Punjab Legislative Council is concerned, the distribution of the 175 seats into 10 special constituencies and 4 seats for Europeans and Anglo Indians, and 161 general seats, including 4 seats for women, in H.M.G.'s decision, amongst Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims should stand."

4. Formation of constituencies—

"If women are to be given direct election in ordinary territorial constituencies, then the whole province will be distributed among 161 single member constituencies, otherwise among 161 minus 4 single member constituencies; the distribution will be territorial on popula-

tion basis, and there will be no overlapping of constituencies. The constituencies allotted to each community will be such wherein their percentage of voters is largest."

The next sentence as to each clause being an essential part of the agreement is acceptable.

As regards the last sentence, the agreement goes a little beyond H.M.G's decision on the communal question inasmuch as its basis is differential franchise. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to say—it is requested that the franchise proposal in the White Paper for the Punjab Legislative Council be revised and the decision given by H.M.G. on the communal question modified as in the agreement above.

It is believed that the Muslim community will prefer to do away with reservation of seats and accept paras. 1 and 2 in preference to the agreement as it stands; but if the Sikhs and Hindus insist on reservation, it is hoped that the assent of the Muslim community to the agreement will probably be secured, though, at present, the community is not in favour of a modification.

———

231. 6 King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
7th April, 1933.

Dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 7th April.

If you will refer to previous correspondence, you will find that Sir Jogindra Singh's draft now sent to me is quite different from the one to which we had agreed. It is futile to enter into correspondence, and but for your assurances, I would certainly not have allowed myself to be involved in "churning water", to quote a Punjabi proverb. Anything that you wish to say in this matter had better be left over till the 16th when I am in Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

232. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, 13th April, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

I duly received yours of 9th. When the Sardar returned from Delhi he sent to me a copy of the draft agreement marked A, which according to him, had been approved by you. On the receipt of your letter under reply, when I mentioned to him that the agreement signed by Sikhs was not the one the draft of which had been approved by you, he said that it was substantially the same; but that he had no objection to stick to draft A.

Yesterday he handed over to me the draft marked B, which he said was almost word for word the same as A. He signed B at my request and promised to have it approved by Sikhs, who are going to meet at Peshawar on the 15th and the 16th instant. On comparing B and A I do not find any substantial difference between them. Sikander also has seen B.

I have not heard yet definitely from Hindus; but it is likely that they will agree to what Sikhs will agree to.

More on your arrival on 16th.

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

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233. The Retreat, Simla,
27th April, 1933.

My dear Sikander,

Sir Jogendra Singh gave me the accompanying note[1] about Services. This is a matter which has to be dealt with independently of the agreement, but there is no harm in arriving at an agreement on this matter, provided that agreement is reasonable. The percentages are approximately, I believe, something like these—

	Population	Representation in Legislature	Representation in Services
Muslims	56.6	51	51
Hindus including Jains Buddhists and Parsis	28	28	28
Sikhs	13	18	19
Christians including Anglo-Indians	2	3	2

Personally, I think it would be best to arrange representation in Services on the basis of representation in Legislature, but if it will please Hindus and Sikhs and Christians that Muslims should have a bare majority of one, let it be so; in which case, the one taken out of Muslims might be given either to Sikhs or to Christians, preferably to Christians because they are a very small minority. So my own view would be 51, 28, 18, 3.

I shall be glad if you will tell me whether Sir Jogindra Singh's draft incorporates the result of your negotiations.

Ramchandra tells me that he has written to you about houses. I will be making inquiries myself as well.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Lahore.

1. Printed below as enclosure.

Sir Jogendra Singh's Note.

SERVICES

Future recruitment in the Provincial and Subordinate Services shall be made in the following manner:

(1) (a) that excluding the appointments that go to Europeans, Anglo Indians and Indian Christians, the proportion of appointments will be distributed as follows :

Muslims	50 per cent.
Hindus (including Jains and Budhists)	30 per cent.
Sikhs	20 per cent.

(b) that after the lapse of five years, 10 per cent of the total number of appointments that fall to the share of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs shall be determined entirely by merit and

so far as possible by open competition, and only the remaining 90 per cent shall be subject to the percentage communal representation prescribed in (a) above ;

(c) that on the expiry of a further period of five years the number of appointments to be made by open competition will be raised by mutual agreement.

(2) That promotions in the two services or from the Subordinate service to the Provincial Service, or from one class of the Provincial Service to the next higher class shall not in any manner be affected by the general rule enunciated in (1) (a) above for new and future recruitment.

———

234. The Retreat, Simla,
28th April, 1933.

My dear Shahabuddin,

After hearing you on the subject of Amir Din and after having had a talk with Amir Din, I thought over the whole affair and came to the conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by proceeding to apportion blame or to exonerate or condemn a friend. I was verv much struck by the sentiments to which you have given expression, and have, therefore, decided that I should ask you to ring up Amir Din and ask him to come to you and proceed on the principle of forgive and forget. I trust you will take the same friendly interest in him as I do, and I also trust he too will show for you the same respect and regard as I have for you. I am sending a copy of this to Amir Din and enclose a copy of my letter to him. I have decided to adopt this simple course rather than ask another friend to bring you two together.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

235. The Retreat, Simla,
29th April, 1933.

My dear Iqbal,

Your telegram : "Associated Press telegram. Please wire whether you agree to joint electorates. Whatever the scheme, it must be placed before Muslim community for discussion and decision."

I have just now sent you a reply by telegram. As I have not seen the Associated Press telegram, how can I say whether I agree to joint electorates or not. As things stand, you know perfectly well that I am definitely against joint electorates, but it does not mean that in the Punjab under no circumstances can I be for joint electorates. When I was in Lahore, I had asked Firoz to request some friends, specially those who had expressed themselves against joint electorates in any form at the Muslim League meeting and in *Muslim Outlook* and *Inquilab*, to meet and discuss. You were not able to come but we had a good discussion. Discussion in such matters must necessarily be conducted by a few at their early stages and when something tangible results from those discussions, it must be placed before the public for discussion and decision.

The position at present is this—that our friend Sir Jogindra Singh alleges that a large majority of Hindus and Sikhs are prepared to support the statement which I have marked Sir Jogindra Singh's draft. Para. 3 of this note is not quite clear, and it is best in such matters that no ambiguities should be left. So an examination of this draft is contained in the second typed paper. You will, therefore, see that as yet there is no final scheme on which it can be said that even those who are conducting talks have arrived at a final decision. As soon as it is ready, it should be discussed by the Muslim Conference, the Muslim press, just the same way as it should be discussed by Hindu and Sikh organizations.

I have noticed that in this matter a certain amount of mischief has been practised. As to its cause, I am not yet. . . .

[*Incomplete*].

(Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain)

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore.

236. 17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
April 30th, 1930.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din sent me a copy of Sir Jogendar Singh's draft about the introduction of joint electorates. I gave you my views when you were here last, that is to say that I rather hesitate in making an abrupt change in the accepted principle of separate electorates, but I also see the good points of the scheme put forward by Sir Jogendar Singh. The only difficulty that I see there would be that the reflection of the population in the voting strength will be difficult. A large number of false entries may be made in the voting register to make the Mussalmans feel that they have got 56% voting strength, but actually we may not have 56% voters. I should have been happier if the suggestion had come when the adult franchise had been introduced. It is needless for me to say that should you decide that the formula is in the interest of Mussalmans I shall be only too glad to abide by your decision. My own view is that Sikhs will never accept the formula. If they do that will be making the mistake of their life.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. K.C.I.E., Kt..
The Retreat, Simla W.

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237. The Retreat, Simla,
1st May, 1933.

My dear Iqbal,

Herewith a copy of the last draft which Jogindra Singh feels has the support of a large section of the Hindu leaders and a substantial section of Sikh leaders. Please study it in the light of my last letter. I have no doubt you will agree with me that there is no occasion for the Muslim leaders to rush to the press to deal with this proposal.

It is not a proposal which can be condemned outright, nor is it a proposal over which one can go into hysterics as something wonderful. It is not a bad one, and at present I should not like to say anything more than that. As for you, I think as a responsible leader of the Muslim organization, *i.e.*, All-India Muslim Conference, it would be best for you to say simply this: "The proposal emanating as it does from Hindu and Sikh leaders is one that Muslim leaders should examine carefully and conscientiously and arrive at a decision after they have examined it and studied it thoroughly. The Muslim community in the Punjab have always been anxious to co-operate with sister communities and any scheme which emanates from our neighbours and aims at mutual co-operation and mutual goodwill cannot but command the most serious consideration of all thoughtful Muslims."

If you commend the proposal, then on that ground the Sikhs and Hindus will oppose it. If, on the other hand, you condemm it, Hindus and Sikhs will say : since the scheme is condemned by Muslims, we need not commit ourselves to its support. Therefore, the best policy is, I trust you will agree with me, as indicated above. Already one section of the Sikhs have condemned the proposal. The suitable line to be taken by the Muslim press is as indicated above. They can further add that whatever the merits of the proposal may be, amongst Muslims, every proposal which seeks to modify His Majesty's decision on the subject is looked upon with suspicion, and therefore, it is all the more necessary to examine the proposal in all its details, and leave the final conclusion open.

With all good wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

238.

Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, Kt.
M.A., Ph.D.
Barrister-at-Law.

Lahore.
1st May 1933.

My dear Fazli,

Thank you so much for your letter which arrived a minute ago.

It has brought me a great relief. I wired to you because the Associated Press telegram report many people and all sorts of inquiries were made and mischiefs done. A Sikh leader Tara Singh has already declared the formula to be a kind of suicide for Sikhs if they accept it. The *Tribune* has also virtually opposed it. I thank you again for your prompt reply.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

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239. The Retreat, Simla,
1st May, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Herewith a note on some of the points in the Indian National Liberal Federation Resolution. You had better study the resolution *in extenso* and ask your Hindu colleagues whether they want to press some of the points, specially those relating to Federation or not; and in case they are ready to press, your delegation will probably be ready to help, for the Conference Resolutions on the subject are to the same effect.

Maulana Shaukat Ali is trying to inflame the Muslim public by referring to British policy in Palestine being favourable to Jews and against Muslims. If that is so, that policy should be modified. Such agitation has a great chance of success in Muslim India. In case Maulana Shaukat Ali's allegation is altogether unfounded, requisite information should be sent to India by the Secy. of State so that the Muslim public may be warned against unfounded allegations.

Azim will be appearing in his examination early in June. When the May term is over, then I trust you will see him, and after he has had a short holiday of a week or ten days after his hard work, he would like to settle down for work during the long vacations. It would be best for him to work under supervision (a coach or more than one coach) to help him to prepare for English and History papers for the I.C.S. I understand, there is an institution (successors of Wren's) which might do: but if he prefers private coaching, real good men with experience should be selected.

I suppose when you have time you will pay a visit to Naim's tomb and let me know how you find it.

Try to get some work out of Padshah when he comes. He says there is a good deal of work in him, that he has some capacity. If so, you should try him to see to what extent it is correct.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Chaudhri Sir Muhammad Zafarulla Khan,
London.

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240. The Retreat, Simla,
1st May, 1933.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 22nd April. I have read your very long letter carefully. There is a great deal in it with which the Muslim opinion has always been in agreement, but I feel sure you will like me to tell you frankly how my mind has reacted to this letter. The impression left on my mind is that you are in a dissatisfied frame of mind, and want to take a line which may lead the Secy. of State and others to believe that you have a mind of your own and that you can act independently of them and that you are not their slave; but that in doing so you do not wish to do anything which may in any way prejudice the interests of your own community.

I can very well understand and appreciate this frame of mind and the justification for it, but my long experience has also convinced me that such demonstration does not serve the purpose it is intended to serve. On the other hand, in some cases, it renders the person open to misunderstanding. I, therefore, feel I should sound a note of warning and ask you to exercise further self-control and self-restraint and reconsider the whole matter and avoid new permutations and combinations at this late stage. On the other hand, there are many matters mentioned in your letter which are of very considerable interest to your community and your country, and the views of the National Liberal Federation of India on them are believed to have very considerable support behind them from Hindus and Muslims alike. Why should not those who support these views press them, and

they do, the Muslim Delegation will probably arrive at the conclusion that some of these views must be supported, *e.g.*, the points mentioned in the accompanying note.

The Muslim Conference politics—There is a great deal in what you say and that will be borne in mind when dealing with this subject. I notice from to-day's telegram that our friend Maulana Shaukat Ali has started his campaign against the White Paper by combining this attack with expressions of dissatisfaction against the British Government's policy in support of Jews and against Muslims in Palestine. I think this point had better be discussed by the Muslim Delegation, and I have no doubt His Highness the Aga Khan will be able to guide you in this matter, and if necessary, the Secy. of State might be approached for information; and, in case there is need, he should approach his colleagues responsible for the policy.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, London. Fazl-i-Husain

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241. The Retreat, Simla,
1st May, 1933.

My dear Aga Khan,

So the Indian Delegation has been decided upon. Most of them are on their way, and the others will soon follow. I think you will find the Muslim section as ready and anxious to seek your guidance and help as in the past. You will find Zafrulla Khan as helpful as ever, and Shafaat as energetic and anxious to help as he always has been, but may be a little awkward this time, at all events, to begin with.

If there is anything you want on this side done, we shall be glad to hear about it. Very few Muslim witnesses are being sent, for oral evidence, obviously, cannot go very far one way or the other, and the arguments for and against every problem have already been threshed out threadbare.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

His Highness Sir Aga Khan, London. Fazl-i-Husain

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242. Simla,
1st May, 1933.

My dear Lord Irwin,

I trust you have by now completely recovered from the results of your accident. In my last letter I promised to write to you about the Anglo-Indian and European education. During the last 12 or 13 years of the Montague reforms, European education has done very well indeed in all the provinces, and those Europeans who are engaged in it gratefully acknowledge the help they have received since the reforms. Directors of Public Instruction in all the provinces treat this department of Education with special care. It appears, however, that there are certain domestic quarrels between the Europeans who have been promoting this education, contributing towards its cost and development, and Anglo-Indians who, having derived benefit from it, would like to see less and less of the Europeans. I daresay the quarrel is only natural, but any decision resulting in the administration of this education passing into Anglo-Indian hands and independently of the Government, may have results which no well-wisher of this department of Education could comprehend with equanimity. We are sending proceedings of the Conference we held here the other day, and it was fortunate that complete unanimity was obtained on most of the points, and it was only on one point that our friends Sir Henry Cidney and Mr. Hammond were not able to see their way to agreeing with the rest of the Conference, *i.e.*, the question of Inspectors of Education. To have a cadre of 6 or 7 Inspectors working throughout India independently of any other form of education cannot but lead to further isolation. Whether the organization which will recruit, control and administer will work effectively, is not very easy to forecast. On the other hand, reactions to the scheme so far as Indian opinion in provinces is concerned, may not be altogether pleasant. We are, of course, expressing no opinion on the merits of the scheme as we have not been asked to do so.

The National Liberal Federation of India have expressed themselves strongly in the matter of Indian Federation and they insist upon a Federation of States rather than a Federation of Rulers of States. The Indian opinion is growing strongly on the point that

representatives of the rulers of States should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion of or decision on subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no confidence arising out of British Indian Subjects. They also object to nominated element in the Federal Council of State; and, as regards the Assembly, they insist upon some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the States as a transitory measure for a fixed period. Indian opinion is supporting the National Liberal Federation of India in this respect. In the matter of the control of the Services too, they have defined their position and very considerable support in Indian circles is forthcoming.

So our friend Gandhi has notified his fast again, but on purely social and religious reform programme. The pressure of the fast, therefore, is directed against various sections of the Hindu society and Hindu religion. Has he not very considerably lost his hold on the Indian people from a religious point of view, and consequently, from the political point of view? Poor man! He is now reduced to the same level as an average reformer who has but few followers during his time and many detractors.

I must not take up your time any longer. You are so busy with all the delegations that are now in London.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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243. Lahore,

1st May, 1933.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your note of 27th April. Sir Jogendra Singh's note is apparently based on the talks we had regarding the matter; but it is not identical with the proposals which we have so far discussed.

Personally, I would prefer a settlement on the somewhat following lines :

(1) 20% of the total appointments to be reserved for open competition. (In considering the merits of individual candidates due consideration to be given to intellectual and physical capacity as also to suitability and claims of the candidates for a particular post).

(2) The remaining 80% to be divided among the various communities on a population basis. The proportion of appointments under (1) to remain unaltered for 10 or 15 years and to be reconsidered after that period and altered only by mutual consent of the communities concerned. Since this proposal did not find favour with the Sikhs and even the Hindus were not enthusiastic about it, it was suggested that 50% appointments should be reserved for Muslims and the other 50% allotted to: Hindus 28%, Sikhs 17%, and 'others' 5%. I was, however, prepared to increase the Sikh share to 18% by reducing the share of 'orhers' to 4%. Personally, I do not think that the Muslims will secure any appreciable advantage if their proportion is raised to 51% beyond the sentimental satisfaction that they would get a theoretical majority. In actual practice it would be impracticable to reflect the extra 1% when appointments are made. But it may be desirable to press for 51% in order to maintain the principle that the majority community should also have a majority in the services. I would personally be satisfied with 50%, 28%, 18% and 4%.

I have not been able to secure a house so far and it looks as if I will have to go into one of the "Brockhurst" houses. Many thanks for conveying my message to Ram Chandra who has done his best, and also for making enquiries personally.

I expect to arrive in Simla on the 12th or 13th of May. I hope you have fully recovered from the effects of the boil on your leg.

With respectful and kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.S.I.

244 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, 2nd May, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

I enclose herewith replies of Firoz and Sikander[1]. The former's reply speaks for itself. I wish you had not asked me to send Sir Joginder Singh's draft and your note to him. I am reliably informed that last evening he told some one that he was opposed to joint electorates and knew nothing about negotiations, as he had not been taken into confidence.

I am also enclosing Chaudhri Chhotu Ram's opinion marked A[2]. My note is marked B[3].

With best wishes and kindest regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

P.S.

I have just received you letter of the 1st instant. S. Din

1-3 Printed in the following pages

———

(1) 51, Lower Mall
Lahore
1st May, 1933.

My dear Chaudhri Sahib,

Reference your letter of 29th April. I have no criticism to offer on Mian Sahib's note enclosed with your letter, except to suggest that paragraph 4 may perhaps be amplified so as to make it quite clear that the distribution of seats in each division and, where possible, in each district will be in accordance with the population of each community. This is necessary to ensure that the minorities will not remain unrepresented in any area. Otherwise I agree with Mian Sahib's note.

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

The Hon' ble Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din, Kt.,
3 Durand Road, Lahore.

(2) (A)

I have persued the proposed agremeent with some care. It will be a happy augury for the reforms if this agreement goes through. Forces of reaction on all sides are astir. But I fear that the Khalsa will allow itself to be used as a tool by Hindu communalists for an attack on the formula.

My comments on the formula are as below :

I assume that the distinction between urban and rural areas will be maintained. The formula is naturally silent on the point because the Premier's award did not cover that point. The proposal that all the 161 non-special seats will be divided territorially on a population basis raised an apprehension in my mind that the classification of constituencies into rural and urban based on a distribution of seats between rural and urban areas might be abolished though the abolition of this basis did not follow logically or necessarily from the wording. However, I asked Sardar Sikander Hyat Khan and he told me that the idea was to divide the whole urban area into 19 urban constituencies and the whole rural area into 138 rural constituencies and assign the requisite number of seats to each community in places where its voting strength is largest. If this assumption is correct the proposal is unexceptionable. But if it is contemplated to abolish the present line of distinction between rural and urban areas it will result in grave consequences so far as rural candidates are concerned.

Though it is not impossible to avoid overlapping of constituencies entirely yet it may in some cases lead to consequences which will be regarded as very undesirable by communalists. For instance, Hindu candidates from Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions and Muslim candidates from the Ambala Division will be returned by constituencies in which the electors of their own community will ordinarily be in a minority. However, personally I do not look upon it as a calamity. The object of joint electorates is to weaken and ultimately to kill the present communal mentality.

The device of differential franchise for the purpose of having the proportion of Muslims in the population reflected on the electoral roll will be attacked as illogical and unreasonable, and the criticism

will, *prima facie*, appear sound. I do not swear by logical perfection or constitutional purity where valuable practical ends can be achieved by slight departures from the normal course, but it will be an advantage if differential franchise can be avoided even at the expense of precise arithmetical proportions between population and voting strength. What I wish is that Hindus (urban) and Sikhs should be left no excuse to wriggle out of joint electorates. They have been playing a dishonest role, and they must now either accept joint electorates or stand thoroughly exposed.

Unless the resulting electorate is too unwieldy I would suggest that all persons above 25 or 30 years of age should be given the right of vote. This will ensure a reflection of population on the electoral roll.

(3) (B)

I - (1) The conceivable ways in which the population of each community can be reflected *in voting registers* are :

(i) Adult franchise;

(ii) Different ages of the voters of different communities, *e. g.*, Muslim voters 20 or 22 years and Hindu and Sikh voters 25 or 27; &

(iii) Differential pecuniary qualifications.

Hindus and Sikhs will not agree to method (i); while method (ii) and (iii) might only approximately, but not exactly, reflect the population of each community, unless the qualifications are changed several times to arrive at the exact populational proportion. So, if it is really intended that the population of each community should be reflected *in the voting registers*, the only possible way is "Adult Franchise". However, if this be not feasible, the only other way in which population can be reflected *in voting strength*, but not in voting registers, is to value and adjust each vote actually cast according to the mathematical formula which shall increase or decrease the value of the vote of each elector according to the population of the community to which he belongs.

In short there are only two ways in which population can be reflected in voting strength;

(a) Adult franchise; &

(b) Mathematical adjustment.

All other ways are defective and imperfect.

For the above reasons the para under consideration should not be accepted in its present form but if it is accepted at all, in line 2 after the word "Hindus", the words "including untouchables", should be inserted.

(2) Accepted subject to the observations made on Para 1 (1).

(3) There can be no difficulty in distributing the province into 161 single-member constituencies including women, or 157 constituencies excluding them. But it is not clear how these consitituencies can be allotted to each community having the largest percentage of voters in those constituencies. What does the expression "largest percentage" mean? To all intents and purposes it means the largest percentage of voters in the same constituency as compared with the number of voters of the other two communities. If this interpretation is correct, it is mathematically impossible to so distribute the province into 161 single-member separate and contiguous constituencies that the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs may get "the largest percentage of voters", in the exact number of constituencies which have been allotted by the Premier's Award to each of the three communities. As the Muslims have been allotted less and Sikhs more seats than they are entitled to according to their population, the latter can never have the largest percentage of voters in more than a few constituencies. However, if in forming their constituencies in each District contiguity is ignored, and several non-contiguous Tahsils, Thanas and Zails in which they are in majority, are tacked together to carve out a Sikh constituency, it is possible that a sufficient large number of constuencies with Sikh majority may be formed, but not otherwise. There are very few districts in which the Sikhs have a large population and even where they have, it is scattered all over the district. In other words, there is a limited number of Tahsils, Thanas and Zails in which the Sikh population is compact. Where their population is compact, it may be possible to carve out constituencies with their majority but where their population is

scattered, it is difficult to see how a single-member constituency with the majority of Sikh community can be formed. In such cases multi-member constituencies shall be inevitable, otherwise it will be impossible to avoid overlapping of constituencies.

The original and proposed language of the Para under consideration is rather involved. So, if the Para is to be retained, it may read as follows :

"The allocation of the 175 seats to various communities,

classes and interests made in H. M. G. 's decision shall stand"

As the Premier's Award is universally known, its details need not be repeated.

II. The word "clause", in the 1st line, is redundant, and may, therefore, be omitted.

III. The last Para should stand as it is. Para I (1) is a clear request for modification of the franchise qualifications. A repetition of the same request is not only unnecessary but might prove a red rag to the bull.

Private & Confidential

245. The Retreat, Simla,

3rd May, 1933.

My dear Ahmad Yar,

Yours of the 1st inst. Thanks for the cuttings.

You are right in your surmise about the *Civil & Military Gazette* article in the issue of the 1st. It is a pity that the article is spoilt by the headlines—New Plan which kills Sikh political influence and Muhammedan voters as electors of the rest. This is malicious, but the article itself pays a very high compliment to the scheme when it says that it has the merit of ensuring a stable Ministry, and this is one of the requisites of success in the future. However as you know, I took up the matter because of the desire of the Hindus and Sikhs and the scheme which has emanated from some Hindu and Sikh leaders, though some Muslim leaders have taken part in its elaboration. Now it is for the Hindus and Sikhs to give it their support. If they do, we shall be ready to do our part of the job. One ought to do

what one feels is right, and it is not honourable to give up a thing because one is threatened with opposition or unpopularity. Now the initiative lies with Hindu and Sikh leaders, and we cannot do anything but wait for them to put forth their support. I am glad the Muslim press, on the whole, has said nothing one way or the other which might be said to be either in condemnation of the scheme or going into hysterics over the advantages accruing thereby. My own view I made clear at the meeting at which you were present, and I believe none of you had any doubts on the subject. My advice to you is to say nothing about this scheme till the Hindus and Sikhs move in the matter. The scheme is such that Government and high officials will find it extremely difficult to adopt any attitude other than one of neutrality. Some may not act up to that neutrality and in an under hand manner act against it, but if non-official leaders know their business they can make it impossible for any official to take that line. I see no sense in the Kashmiris being upset by it, and as to Shah Nawaz, he some times allows personal considerations to weigh heavily with him and embarks upon a statement of policy which to every one but himself sounds ridiculous. He has been during the last 10 or 12 years a grumbling supporter of separate electorates and an ardent worker for joint electorates. Why, only two years ago in Delhi he had made open declarations for joint electorates even without the safeguard as to franchise which Sir Jogindra Singh's draft includes.

I will remember your kind offer, and if there is anything to be sent for publication, I will send it on.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana.

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246.

3, Durand Road,
Lahore
4th May, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

As intimated in my yesterday's letter, I am leaving today for Chak and will return to Lahore on the 7th instant. After four days

stay here I will again go to Chak for about a week or so. The urban Muslim feeling against joint electorates appears to be intense. Apparently they wish to return to the next Council a number of Kashmiri representatives. Shaikh Din Muhammad is rumoured to have decided to stand for the Gujranwala Rural Constituency. Gujranwala-*cum*-Sialkot Urban Constituency is said to be earmarked for Khan Bahadur Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh; while Dr. Iqbal may oppose Dr. Alam in the Rawalpindi-*cum*-Jhelum and Gujrat Urban Constituency. Besides, these three Kashmiries, one from Lahore, another from Amritsar and the 3rd from Ludhiana are positively certain. Efforts will be made to return a few more Kashmiries from other constituencies as well. Therefore, among other reasons, the main reason why K. B. Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh and others are opposed to joint electorates is that the favourable chance which they have under separate electorates shall be considerably reduced. However, be this as it may, I deem it my duty to inform you that joint electorates, however beneficial they may be to the Muslim community, shall be strongly opposed, especially by the urban Muslims. I understand that Dr. Iqbal is negotiating with Maulvi Firozuddin, Proprietor, Eastern Times, for taking the Paper under his control. It is said that the Maulvi will charge nothing, at least for the present, for the paper and the Press, and that Dr. Iqbal, who is expecting a donation of Rs. 75,000/ from somebody, will run the Paper on his lines, especially for opposing strenuously the joint electorate scheme. The other day Sardar Habibulla came to me with the suggestion that if we could manage to collect or borrow Rs. 25,000/- for running the Paper, we can have it in preference to Dr. Iqbal. But I declined to entertain the suggestion. A retired Muslim Sub-Judge, who is an M. A. of the Punjab University, came to see me yesterday. In the course of conversation he said that Dr. Iqbal was the only trusted and accredited leader of the Muslim community, and that nobody else will be listened to against him. He also said that barring Dr. Iqbal all other so-called Muslim leaders, were selfish and had no hold or influence over the Muslims of the Punjab, and that so long as the Doctor was against joint electorates, no one else could possibly have

Doctor was against joint electorates, no one else could passibly have them. All this is for your information.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

P. S.

I have just received the enclosed[1] reply from K. B. Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh, M. A.

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247. Lahore,
5th May 1933.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I saw Sir Shahabuddin yesterday and he says he has written to you pointing out some of the difficulties regarding the formation of constituencies and the revision of franchise which could secure reflection of population and prevent overlapping in constituencies. I hope you have replied to his letter. So far as Hindus are concerned they are solidly behind you and except the opposition I mentioned to you amongst the Sikhs the rest would be all with you. Amongst the Muhamadons I am told Sir Mohammad Iqbal is going to oppose it and is holding a meeting today.

Now that you have taken this matter in hand I rely on you to put it through. Principles having been settled the details can be worked out by mutual agreement. As Sir Shahabuddin thinks that the formula will have to be modified on the points he has mentioned I am not getting any signatures, but I will get them down as soon as final draft is ready.

I know your view that it would be difficult to get any change in the franchise but since Sir Shahabuddin says that there are great many difficulties I again bring to your notice my first proposal:

1. Let there be a household franchise, each household nominating one member of the family to exercise the vote on its

1. Not available in the Fazl-i-Husain papers.

behalf. The numbers of houses have been marked and enumerated in the last census and for the next election should stand as they are.

2. If the constituencies cannot be otherwise formed we may have the rural member constituencies with a single non-transferable vote.

3. In some constituencies only Muhamadons will be elected, while in others Hindus and Sikhs will also come in, and in these their seats will be reserved.

This may be a simple way and may be easily carried out. In any case the Government will have to revise the decision they may accept this simple arrangement.

I will be here till the 10th instant and will await your instructions.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

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248. The Retreat, Simla
8th May, 1933

My dear Zafrulla Khan,

I suppose you are settled down by now in London, but I presume the actual work with the Joint Select Committee will not commence for another fortnight or so. There are two points to be mentioned in this letter.

(1) **Federation** : Public opinion in India is stiffening so far as the entry of Princes into the Federation is concerned. I think Indian opinon is solid on one point, *i. e.*, the representatives of States should have nothing to do with the business at the centre relating to matters other than Federation with States.

(2) Again, there are two points on which Indian opinion is almost united, the exception being a few Hindus who have been to the Round Table Conference and have given their personal adherence to the weightage to be given to Indian States. The two points are:

(a) Weightage given to States is too heavy.

(b) There should be no nomination to the Upper Federal Chamber.

(c) Representation of the States to the lower Federal Chamber should be through election, whether direct or indirect.

(d) Nomination to the Upper Federal Chamber should be limited to half the representation, and conditions of eligibility, whether for election or nomination should be practically the same as in British India.

(e) Financial liability of the States should be real and additional as in the case of provinces and not fictitious.

(2) The second matter is the talks about Hindu-Sikh-Muslim agreement. We—at all events, Jogindra Singh, some leading Hindus and some of us Muslims—have reached a certain stage. I enclose a copy of the draft. In Muslim circles there is opposition to it from urban interests. Urban non-agricultural people think that in urban constituencies Muslim interests will suffer in the sense that the influences to be exerted by non-Muslim voters will be greater than those exerted by Muslim voters. In other words, their criticism is that in urban constituencies, Muslim population to the extent of 56% or so will not be reflected in the electorates because it is not reflected in the population. This is a matter open to verification, but I have not yet had time to go into the figures. My present attitude is that if Hindus solidly and Sikhs largely stand by the agreement on the lines of this draft, the Punjab Muslims should also give their support to it on the ground, firstly, that it does not weaken the position of Muslims, and, secondly, because, logically, being a majority community in population as well as in voting strength, it is not open to them to stand out for separate electorates if the minorities offer to have joint electorates.

You will, no doubt, mention all these things to His Highness the Aga Khan and also let Shafaat and others see this letter and

have a good discussion. If in your discussion some new point emerges I shall be glad to hear of it.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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249. The Retreat, Simla,
8th May, 1933

My dear Jogendra Singh,

Yours of the 5th May.

The last statement to which you and I agreed—Is there any reason why it should not be sent to the press for publication ? The draft has reached present stage. There is no reason why it should not be amended in case both of us agree to it later on. It is open for discussion. I have already seen that there is a strong prejudice against joint electorates amongst the Muslims, but if the Punjab Hindus solidly and the Punjab Sikhs largely support the agreement as it stands, or as you and I may agree to amend it, I am prepared to support it, and secure certain Muslim support as may be forthcoming. I trust this makes it quite clear that this is not my agreement, though I have certainly helped in its assuming its present shape. The Punjab Muslims are quite satisfied with the existing position and, therefore, proposals for change must emanate from Hindus and Sikhs and those Muslims who are ready to accommodate their neighbours, provided thereby their own community does not suffer any harm, and I trust will be ready to give their full support to it. I want you to understand this thoroughly and to explain it to the Hindu leaders as well, so that there may be no misapprehension whatsoever.

The last part of your letter suggests reopening the whole matter. I am not prepared to that. As regards Chaudhuri Sahib's suggestions

I am going to examine them with him and will let you know the result.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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250. 10 May 1933

My dear friend,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. Shafaat, Ghuznavi, and Zafrullah have read and considered your letter and discussed it thoroughly. While we are not opposed to any agreement or pact that may be arrived at as consultation among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims and would welcome a compromise which has the support of these three communities and even though it departs in many respects from some of the principles we have been fighting for in the last four years. I feel, however,—this feeling is shared by Shafaat, Ghuznavi and Zafrullah—that it would be highly risky to raise any point dealing with the communal problem which forms part of the communal award embodied in the White Paper. Our reasons for this view are

1. It will break up the solidarity of Muslims in India. It is only after a great deal of work that we have been able to build up a united programme for Muslims which is supported by every Province throughout India. Our community will then be disorganised and split into innumerable fragments.

2. It will produce a very deep cleavage between the Muslims of Eastern and Western Punjab, and Muslims belonging to the rural areas and those who come from the urban areas.

3. It will be difficult to prevent every part of the communal award being topsy turvy, and Muslims in minority provinces will be dragged into the discussion of the percentages to which they would be entitled as a result of this pact between the

Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims of the Punjab. The Punjab question does not and cannot stand alone, it is a part of the all-India question and however strongly and persistently we may try to localise this issue it will be found that the whole question of communal proportions throughout India will be re-opened for discussion.

4. We have succeeded in settling this problem after years of strenuous work and a campaign for our rights which is unparalleled in the history of modern Islam in India. If this question is re-opened for discussion, I am very much afraid that all our efforts will be thrown away.

5. The Diehards here are very active and there is a very great fear indeed of Provincial Autonomy being shorn of a great deal of its vigour. I very much fear that if this communal question is raised afresh, it will play into the hands of the Diehards, who will insist on reserving Law and Order throughout India. It will very severely affect the position of the India Office *vis-a-vis* the minority communities.

Aga Khan

P.S.

If, at the present stage, joint electorates are introduced, the Sikhs who have been given weightage will ever after retain it; whilst, if they are introduced at a later stage, separate electorates will be a thing to bargain on, and very likely the Sikhs will give up their weightage to have joint electorates substituted. A.K.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

251.

3, Durand Road,
Lahore,
11th May, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of the 9th instant. Sardar Jogindra Singh saw me yesterday afternoon. He will reach Simla by car tomorrow and will probably see you the day after. I am not directly in touch with Hindus, but

he says that all, but one Hindu member of the Council, have signed the first draft. He also told me that Sikh Jats were with him, while the Akalis were against. He will tell you all this and more personally.

Sardar Jogindra Singh also told me that he had seen Dr. Iqbal, who was bitterly opposed to any settlement and said that he and his comrades will capture at least 40 Muslim seats.

I got a bad throat on the 8th and was consequently forbidden to speak on the 9th and 10th. This morning I had Amiruddin with me and made up with him as directed.

I have worked hard for Safdar and hope that, if all goes well, he shall be appointed as Secretary on the 20th, on which date special meeting of the Committee will be held.

I am extremely sorry to learn that Asif and her sister have failed in Matric.

I intend to leave here tomorrow afternoon for a week or so.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

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252. All India Moslem League,
Ballimaran Street,
Delhi.
29th May 1933.

My Dear Mian Saheb,

I venture to address you on a subject which is of great concern to the All India Muslim League. As you know owing to an unfortunate dead-lock in its affairs, the League could not avail itself of the invitation which the Government extended to the political organizations in the country to nominate witnesses for the Joint Select Committe. Thanks to the energetic action of the Council that dead-lock has now been removed and the League is very anxious to know whether it is still possible to take any useful action in the direction of strengthening the representation of the Muslim case before the Select Committee.

There is an impression that Government has granted free passages and other concessions to those who have been invited to give evidence on behalf of the Hindu Sabha and other Hindu Political bodies, and the League would like to know if similar concessions could be granted to Muslim representatives.

In any case our main object is to secure proper representation of the Muslim demands and we depend entirely on your support for achieving this object. I shall be grateful to have your kind guidance in the matter.

With most respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mirza M. Said
Honorary Secretary

Mr. Lewis[1] might like to see this. Fazl-i-Husain 31/5

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253. The Retreat, Simla,
29th May, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 19th May.

So far as the proposed Punjab agreement is concerned, considering that you have not got it in the final form and that we ourselves have not got it in the final form, does it appear a little bit premature to express the final opinion on it ? In stating His Highness the Aga Khan reasons for expressing an adverse opinion on it, you have stated—

(1) Increase in voting power immaterial because of the communal award.

(2) No *quid pro quo* for giving up separate electorates.

(3) Confine to 51% representation in the future.

(4) Uneasiness amongst Muslims in other provinces.

(5) No alteration of the Award should be pressed unless all shades of Muslim opinion support it.

As to (5), I entirely agree with you.

As to (3), surely His Majesty's Govt. are not going to revise the reservation of seats in favour of Muslims to the prejudice of Sikhs in

1. See Letter 254.

the future. Therefore, the point of this criticism is perhaps missed by me.

As to (1) and (2), they naturally stand together. Muslims are in population in a majority, in voting in a minority and because of being a minority in the voting strength, they are entitled to separate electorates. As soon as this minority feature disappears, don't you think separate electorates disappear with it. This sounds logic and common-sense.

As regards (4), there is some force in it. On the other hand, as soon as Punjab and Bengal are able to dispense with separate electorates and have their population reflected in the voting strength, the better for their future inasmuch as at present the criticism against the Award is protection given to majorities in these provinces. Moreover, it is likely, at all events, in the Punjab, that Sikhs will soon cry off the joint electorates. If they agree to them now and press for separate electorates, in which Muhammedans will get separate electorates in the Punjab just as Hindus get them in U. P. and Madras, not because the Muslims ask for it but because of the minorities asking for it.

I enclose a copy of the draft agreement which is not yet in its final form, and a note indicating certain points relating to it.

Certain points on which you have not yet written to me—

The S. of S.[1], attitude as to the mode of election of Muslims to the lower Federal House. Is he convinced or not that it cannot be done under proportional representation with a single transferrable vote ?

I notice Ghuznavi is giving too many interviews to the press. Why need he talk about future Ministers need not have access to Police records, &c. After all, silence is golden; and unless the community has to gain something, it is much better to remain silent.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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1. Secretary of State.

254. Kashmere Gate,
Delhi,
30th May 1933.

My Dear Mian Sahib,

The Working Committee of the A. I. Muslims' Conference which met at Lahore last month, had authorised its President Dr. Sir Mohd Iqbal to nominate certain witnesses to appear before the J. P. C. As the Hindu Mahasabha was quite indifferent at that time to send any witnesses, so Doctor Sahib, looking to the different aspect, suggested only three names which were communicated and I understand have duly been approved. The meeting of the Council of the annual session of the A. I. Muslim league could not be held then for reasons not unknown to you.

We all were greatly shocked here, when we saw now that the Hindu Mahasabha has proposed to send no less than eleven witnesses, and so we resolved any how to call an emergent meeting of the council of the league to do something at this very critical juncture, so that the situation may not be lost, though we knew it was too late. Maulana Mazharuddin wired Maulana Shafee Daudi also to do some thing and we have all sent a requisition to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the A. I. Muslim Conference at once.

The meeting of the council of the league held last Sunday, though the late President, and one of his so called nationalist friends tried to wreck it. It has resolved to represent the moslim case before the J. P. C. and has authorised four of its members to do the needful. These four members are sitting today, and resolving to approach the J. P. C. and the Reform Commissioner by telegram to accept at least three witnesses on behalf of the league.

I am sure that this our request cannot be acceded to at this late hour except through your valuable help. Owing to the proposal of the Mahasabha, the circumstances have entirely changed, and if the Muslim witnesses are not produced, we are afraid, our interests will greatly be jeopardised. I have seen in today's paper that the Government has sanctioned passage to at least six of the Mahasabha witnesses, though Dr. Moonji is trying to get for more. There is no reason

why we should be deprived of this concession, and I hope you will take the case and help us in securing the passage money for at least three of the witnesses from the Muslim League, three more from the Muslim Conference and one at least from the Delhi Muslim Association. The case of Delhi Moslems is quite un-represented and so it is essential that one witness from this institution should also be sent.

I am very sorry to encroach upon your valuable time in addressing this somewhat lengthy letter but looking to the importance of the subject, I hope you will kindly excuse me, and will consider the case favourably.

A few lines in reply will be highly appreciated. I hope you are doing quite well, and enjoying the Simla weather. For the last three days it is too hot here.

With all best wishes,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
Rashid Ahmad

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain Sahib,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Kt., Retreat, Simla.

Mr. Lewis might like to see this. Fazl-i-Husain 31/5

I am grateful to the Hon'ble Member for the opportunity to see these letters which I return with thanks.

I wired yesterday to the India Office to let them know the position as regards the application of the All India Muslim League. Presumably the All India Muslim Conference has wired direct to the Select Committee for permission to take 3 witnesses in addition to the 3 witnesses already invited. Presumably also the Delhi Muslim Association has also addressed the Select Committee direct.

W.H. Lewis.
1. 6. 33.

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain KCSI KCIE.

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255. The Retreat, Simla,
5th June 1933.

Dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 26th May.

I am glad to hear you are all getting on nicely and that Sir Abdur Rahim is proving helpful and anxious to do good. I have always felt that he was not given the proper chance to make himself properly useful and that some petty intrigue or other stood in his way.

As regards Provincial Autonomy, I am afraid the attack will be made on Bengal by the Europeans and on the Punjab by the Hindus and Sikhs. The right tactics for the Muslims to adopt are a uniform provision for all provinces. If there is to be no transfer of law and order, let it be so in all provinces. The dangers are greater in the case of U.P., Madras, C.P., than in other places; why? because in U.P., if the Congress wins, it will win on the basis of cultivator's vote, and the law and order then will be at their disposal against vested interests of landlords, &c. In Madras, non-Brahmins getting into power are bound to use it against the Brahmins, &c., and they are such a strong majority that the minority will have very little strength to put forth any opposition worth the name. In C.P., again, the majority will be very, very, strong, and the opposition extremely weak; not so in the Punjab, because there the two parties will be well balanced; not so, in Bengal, because the Europeans and Muslims should be able to keep law and order operating well. However, the Muslim point of view is a uniform autonomy for all provinces, at all events, to begin with.

I should like you to arrange some lectures, if possible, on the following subjects :

(1) Modern Indian Culture and Islamic influences :

A short description of what is Indian culture, and then tracing such parts of it as owe their existence to Islamic influences. Under this head would come religious conceptions, various reforming enterprises of Hindus during the last 400 years, position of women, dress, language, physique,

beating down caste barriers, evolution of the conception of human rights.

(2) Modern problems and Islam, indicating the socialistic tendencies of Islamic principles and laws, and their influence on society.

Zafrulla, you and Abdur Rahim should deliver not less than three lectures each in different parts of Britain. Unless abstruse subjects, it should be possible for other Muslims who are in England to address gatherings. Dr. Ziauddin will probably do some thing of this sort and he also might be helped. However, no one should speak unless he is fully prepared for it and no one should be encouraged to speak unless he is thoroughly competent to do so. While good lectures add to the prestige of the community and the country, bad ones do the reverse.

How is Jahan Ara ? I trust she is doing well.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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256. Simla,

5th June, 1933.

Dear Lord Irwin,

Yours of the 12th May.

Gandhi's fast is over long ago, and here in India at no stage of his fast was ever any apprehension entertained as to his not being able to complete it without any trouble. As a matter of fact, Dr. Ansari had made it quite clear that he would not let him die. In fact, at no stage of the fast did the doctors ever apprehend even the approach of death. So the result is natural. The fast created no stir in India, nor any enthusiasm. In fact, the fast fell flat.

As regards the Congress, it is at a very low ebb indeed, and if Providence had not vouchsafed it the support of the Die-hard section

of the Conservatives in Britain, it might have lost what little of prestige is left to it, but your Conservative Die-hards have willed it otherwise, and the eloquent speeches of some British statesmen, M. P.'s, ex-I. C. S. men, Governors and others, when read here even by moderate politicians, average educated Indians, including non-politically minded educated Indians, seldom fail to make them feel that no faith can be placed in the sense of justice and fairplay of another country in a dominant position, and that it is unwise to let a strong political organization in India die. I should not, therefore, be surprised if as a reaction to the activities of the Die-hard Conservatives, the public feeling which has been for some time much against the Congress may take a turn in support of the Congress. This has happened before and I should not be surprised if history repeats itself. The general feeling in India is the proposals are not such as to elicit any enthusiasm, and many people now hold the view that if for some reason or other connected with British public life the proposals are not proceeded with, it will, in all probability, not be altogether bad for India. What may emerge out of this widely pervading feeling of despondency and despair, it is yet too early to forecast. The position is one of most absorbing interest, and, if I may say so, of very, very great potentialities.

As to Burma, the assumption in favour of separation has, by now disappeared, and if His Majesty's Government decide in favour of separation on the basis of the constitution already devised for Burma, the separation of Burma will take place under circumstances which may necessitate a reconquest of Burma, and all this is due to the adoption of wrong tactics. I felt in 1930 that the Burma Government was acting wrongly, and I feel to-day the same. Left to themselves, Burma would have probably decided to separate but from 1927 onwards they were so much pushed into separation by the Burma Government that they have revolted against it.

I am sorry I have treated you to a pessimistic letter but such is the feeling prevailing in India. I, of course, take a philosophical view of the Persian poet "Such as it was has not remained and such as

it is will not remain".

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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257. The Retreat, Simla,
5th June, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 26th. No, we do not get the proceedings, at all events, we have not got them until now.

Have you settled the following with the Secy. of State ? If not please invite the attention of His Highness the Aga Khan to these points and ask him to arrange a private meeting with the Secretary of State to arrive at a settlement on these points:

(1) Representation of Muslims in the Upper Federal Legislature —The mode of election elaborated in the White paper can only give 42 instead of 50. How is this deficiency to be made good? One way is to allot members to each province and let the Muslims of Provincial Legislatures elect them. Whether there is one Chamber or there are two Chambers in U. P., Bengal and Bihar, the result, so far as Muslims are concerned, will be the same. These 8 additional can be given, one to each of the Indian provinces, excepting the Frontier Province, C. P. and Sind.

(2) Constitution of Upper Legislature, Federal— Muslims are definitely against nomination, firstly, on principle, and secondly, because there is no guarantee whatsoever of Muslim quota being forthcoming. Thirdly, your very emphatic protest against 40% weightage to Indian States.

(3) The Upper Chamber in Bengal— Muslims are dead against it, and it should be done away with. In case this is not accpeted then nominations, at all envents, should be done away with. The

same applies to Bihar, but you should not object to U. P. because U. P. Muslims have definitely wanted it.

(4) Services—The Muslim demand under this head has not been met. Claims of other communities, like Europeans and Anglo-Indians are being generously met in different services, and it is not fair that the Muslim demand should be just ignored or their consideration put off from time to time. In each province it would be best that representation of Muslims in the Legislatures be reflected, on the whole, in the Executive. There can be no hard and fast rule, but this should be a general, well-understood convention, and there seems to be no reason why the depository of so many odd things, *i. e.*, the Instrument of Instructions, should not include this as well.

(5) I do not like the idea of these ten years business. The constitution should stand till it is altered by agreement, and the idea of reconsideration after ten years should be very carefully examined so that all our efforts are not rendered more or less futile by their result being limited to ten years.

As regards the Punjab agreement, Iqbal and *Inqilab* are trying to create an urban party and are opposing the agreement on that basis. They have not, of course, studied figures, and they scarcely realise that the agreement from that point of view is more beneficial to Muslims than to Hindus, and that it is most harmful to Sikhs. I have written to His Highness at length and I have no doubt he will show you my letter. You and Shafaat will no doubt exchange your letters.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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258. The Retreat, Simla,
5th June 1933

My dear Mitra,

Yours of the 26th May. Thanks awfully for getting inquiries made through your Education Secretary about Azim's coaching.

Azim's point is that coaching at Davies' establishment by way of lectures in I. C. S. preparatory classes cannot be very useful for him because unless a student has done these subjects fairly well himself either at Cambridge or elsewhere, he cannot follow these lectures. He has just done a part of English literature, but he has done practically no History yet, and, therefore, his attendance at the Davies Institute will not be of much help to him. There is something in this, but on the other hand I suppose it will not be impossible to arrange for some sort of supervision of his reading of English History and European History by a competent coach who has been doing I. C. S. coaching. Whether he belongs to the Davies establishment or not, it does not matter very much though it will be an advantage if he is on it or has been on it.

There's many a slip betwixt the cup and the lip. What wonderful hopes were entertained *re.* the Round Table Conference, and what a treat of eloquence, friendship, common ends, and common efforts have we not already had! The Round Table Conference treated India to a dreamland, and the White Paper has awakened India, and the present controversy in England between various sections of the British public is what people here describe as adding insult to injury. However, what do all these things matter when the economic condition is so deplorable. However, even a High Commissioner cannot help feeling that even if there is no political advance whatsoever in India on the present, still the buying power of India is not likely to be such again as to help Britain and other countries by the increase of imports from them. So the Economic Conference will only enable you and such Indians as are there to benefit by coming into contact with great people from many great countries. That is something.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra

Private & Confidential

259. Simla,
12th June, 1933.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 1st. The items of news you give are most interesting, and I sympathise with you in your present state of mind—knowledge and experience deprive one of many illusions of generous youth.

As to the States, what else could you expect ? Princes are bad enough, but their Ministers cannot be expected to be any better but may reasonably be something worse. Your descriptions of various episodes relating to Gour, Rahim and Sapru were most interesting, and it seems such a pity that I cannot share the pleasure of reading them with others.

As to the chances of improving the White paper from the Indian point of view, I am afraid there is little chance for it. On the other hand, there is likely to be some sort of attack on central responsibility. I think I mentioned to you that the right position for the Muslim delegation to take is not to rush forward to repulse that attack but to let Sapru and others take the lead in repulsing it. There are many vital points, (some of them mentioned by me in my letter to Zafrullah to-day, which I have no doubt you will see) which have not yet been settled. Even the communal award is under attack. On the other hand, you should not join the attack on central responsibility. When you are called upon to express your views, you should take up a perfectly reasonable attitude. Responsibility at the centre is an extremely delicate affair. If safeguards are really effective, there is but little responsibility to exist. If they are ineffective, then too much responsibility is given. However, Indian Muslims know that it is not their voice which can be the determining factor in the grant or the withdrawal of central responsibility, and, therefore, they are satisfied that the only course for them to pursue is to be prepared to take the risk in case Parliament concedes responsibility and not to break their hearts in case it determines to withhold it. In the absence of a decision of this matter by agreement between communities, and

between India on the one side and the British Government on the other hand, such decisions as the British Parliament eventually arrives at have to be carried out, and under the existing circumstances Indian Muslims do not feel called upon to obstruct them.

Well, Muslim witnesses on behalf of the Conference and the League have already left. I am rather nervous about them. They will all appear as one group in the witness box. The statement they had sent in early in May is not much use, and it would be best to send a short written statement before they actually appear as witnesses. They must limit their evidence within a narrow scope.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Private & Confidential

260.

The Retreat, Simla,
12th June, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 2nd June, and also another enclosing your speech. The speech was admirable in every way.

Your letter of the 2nd is disappointing. The mode of election to the Upper Federal Chamber, mentioned in the White Paper, is an injustice to the Muslim community. You, in your letter, mention the method will give the Muslims 45 or 46. I do not know how you arrive at that conclusion. My calculation gives Muslims 42, and the S. of S. when rejecting the Muslim claim of one-third in the total federal legislature and limiting them to one-third of the British Indian section only said that it shall not be less than 33 1/3rd. Therefore, the question of "may be more or less" dose not come into it. Moreover, for Christians of all sorts, whether Indian, semi-Indian or purely British, separate electorates for the recruitment of the upper federal chamber have been provided for. Out of the minority group, why exclude Muslims. Indian Muslims are bound to treat as a thin

end of the wedge going back on the numerous declarations and promises that separate electorates will not be taken away unless it be with the consent of the Muslim community, and I am afraid strong agitation will be conducted in India on those lines. What is the corresponding gain to H. M. G.'s Govt., I am not able to see; and it is all the more surprising that when the Govt. of India, consisting as it is of all communities involved, excepting perhaps the Anglo-Indians, has expressed the view that proportional representation will not do, why should the S. of State insist upon it. In whose interest? and on whose advice? I am afraid, on this question, when agitation is set afoot in India, the Muslim Delegation in England will have no alternative but to take up the point and inform the S. of S. as well as the Joint Select Committee that this is being done by the order of H. M. G. or by the Joint Select Committee in the teeth of opposition of the entire Muslim community in India.

The subterfuges mentioned

(1) Co-option by elected Muslim members of the Upper Chamber is bound to be rejected by the Muslim community as no substitute whatsoever for election by local legislatures.

(2) Election by the Muslim members of provincial legislatures—Why restrict it only to the balance, *i.e*, 50 minus 42 according to me, 50 minus 41 according to what you have been told. Why not the whole lot?

You have not told me anything about the proposed nominated element in the Upper Chambers of U. P., Bengal and Behar, nor have you said anything as to how you have pressed the question of not having Upper Chambers in Bengal and Behar. It appears that these vital points concerning the community are being left more or less in the background. These are matters which you were expected to settle with the S. of S. perferably by agreement so that they may not be dragged as controversial matters before the Joint Select Committee. You seem to be kept busy on other things, which no doubt are of the utmost importance, but still these matters must be settled and settled before the time of your departure arrives.

Once more I trust the matter of the mode of election to the Upper Federal Legislature in the case of Muslim representation will

not become a political issue between the Muslim community and the S. of S. because it is a point the Muslim community cannot afford to give up, and I am not sure we cannot arrive at an agreement with the Hindus on this point. Again, I fail to see the reason for insistence on proportional representation, and I should like His Highness the Aga Khan to try to find out why the S. of S. is inisting upon it. Is it because it is a fad of his or is it in any way vital to British interests, or is it an item to which he hopes to reconcile the Hindus.

You talk of the I. C, S. examination. Well, this year there is no nomination of any Muslim, because the number of Britishers was very low in the London competition and the number of Indians who got in was very large, therefore for the Delhi competition only 4 vacancies were left, and out of the first 4 places, one was taken up by a Muslim, and because the British candidates did not come in sufficiently large numbers, therefore the Muslims must suffer and no nominations be made. This is also very disappointing. However, this is only a matter of individual unfairness and hardship, and it is not to be classed with matters of constitutional importance.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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Private & Confidential.

261. Simla,
12th June, 1933.

My dear Ranga,

Thanks awfully for yours of the 2nd June. I am sure you are making the best possible use of your time in England. The political atmosphere is most unsuitable for the consideration of Indian reforms and the Diehard section of Conservatives has succeeded in calling forth a reaction in Indian politics in the shape of Bose-Patel school of thought, placing Gandhi and the Congress near the centre and away from the left. I do not suppose the people in England realise what an immense amount of harm the Diehard section of the

Conservatives are doing to their own Empire. They are undermining it with great rapidity.

I think you are right in making up your mind not to give evidence. What is the good? It is ever so much better to limit yourself to considering the points on which you are requested to advise. I suppose you know that the Assembly meets on or about the 22nd of August, so unless you all leave towards the end of July, you won't have the opportunity of going to your respective homes before coming up to Simla. So I assume the work of your Committees will be over by the end of July. Schuster will soon be in London. I suppose he will get there soon after you receive this letter, and I suppose he also will be returning to be here in time for the Assembly meeting. You have got an unique opportunity of being in London when the great Economic Conference opens. It is a pity that there has been some dissatisfaction amongst Indians in London on the matter of Indian representation on the Economic Conference.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Mr. N.G. Ranga, London.

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262. Simla,
19th June, 1933

My dear Ghuznavi,

Yours of the 9th June. Thanks for sending me the cutting.

As regards Bengal, the point to be noted is this: that H. M. G. is, decision *re.* the Bengal Legislature is based on this principle: the total number of seats is 250, out of which seats reserved for Anglo-Indians and also the seats which out of such constituencies are most probably going to Europeans have to be deducted, and the remaining number of seats is to be divided between Muslims and Hindus in such a way that the total number of seats of each community, . *i.e.*, out of general as well as special constituencies, will be in proportion to their population, *i. e.*, 55 : 43. Therefore, Hindus are not in any way treated unfairly. They have got *qua*-Muslims their full population

share. Hindus themselves wanted Europeans to have a large share. Therefore, there is not enough left to give them more seats. As to their giving some seats to the depressed classes, that is their own look out.

As regards law and order, the provision as to that should apply to all provinces and no exception should be made in the case of an individual province. If Hindus agree to law and order being reserved and provincial autonomy to be reduced to that extent, and H.M.G. want to do that, I see no reason why Muslims should oppose both the Hindus and the H.M.G. I trust you will, in matters of public importance, keep the personal element altogether out. I trust you will be helping Shaheed Suhrawardy in every way. He is an able young man and I should like him to have every opportunity of making a good impression. He is young and lacking in experience, but one gathers experience gradually. Such views of his as I have seen have struck me as sensible and sound.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir A.H. Ghuznavi.

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263. Simla,
19th June 1933

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 8th June. What you say about Rahim is very interesting.

Yours of the 9th June *re.* proposed Punjab agreement. As you know I like nothing better than free, frank and fearless expressions of opinion before arriving at a final decision, and therefore I very much value your contribution to the examination of this problem. You mention four points:

1. It may throw the whole of H.M.G.'s communal settlement into the melting pot.
2. The Diehards and the Hindu Mahasabhaites might join hands and take away law and order from provincial autonomy and,

in return, H.M.G.'s communal decision be modified in favour of Hindus.

3. Muslim solidarity in India be in danger.

4. Muslim conference policy and programme be broken up. Points 3 and 4 are really the same.

As regards H. M. G.'s communal decision, the greatest grievance of the Hindus is against the Punjab part of it because it is there that Muslim majority is installed, As to minority provinces, whether the weightage allowed is a little larger than the Hindus would have given is not a matter which has hurt them much. It is about the Punjab that they have been denouncing the communal settlement, and in particular the number of seats reserved for Muslim. At the announcement, Hindus and Sikhs condemned it most violently. If the proposed agreement is supported by a very large section of the Punjab Hindus and a fair section of Sikhs, don't you think the main attack on H. M. G.'s decision disappears? How can the Mahasabha urge with any show of reason that the communal decision be altered as regards the Punjab when in this agreement the distribution of seats given by H. M. G. is accepted by Hindus and Sikhs. The point is such an obvious one that it cannot escape notice. So, the agreement, instead of being a danger to H. M. G.'s communal settlement, is the best policy confirmation by Punjab Hindus and Sikhs of it.

As to the second point *re.* law and order, my view is, and has all along been that if Hindus want law and order to be reserved and not transferred in the provinces, I will not oppose them. Why should I? The Frontier Province does not count because of the geographical position, and where am I going to use law and order to the prejudice of the non-Muslims? and where does my policy as to law and order differ from that of the British Government? Nowhere. Therefore, I do not make a fetish of law and order. If Hindus are prepared to surrender law and order to the British Government. I say amen and shout: Long live John Bull. Surely, this is the correct position for the Muslim minority provinces to take, and, please, don't, for the sake of the Punjab, enter into a struggle with the British Government.

This leaves but one point—Does this agreement militate against the established Muslim policy?—solidarity throughout India and conference policy. I am quite clear in my own mind that it does not. First, take the case of the Frontier Province. If the Hindus and Sikhs decided in favour of joint electorates would you advise the Frontier Muslims to say no ? Obviously, not, because the Muslim position and the conference position has been, Hindus being a minority they have the right to choose. Similarly, in the Punjab, if the Muslims become a majority in the voting register as they are in population, how are you going to deny the right of minority to decide for itself whether it wants separate electorates or not ? And, applying the same argument in the case of the U. P., Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and even Bengal, Muslims, being a minority in the voting register, have the right to determine whether they want separate electorates or joint electorates. The proposition remains exactly the same. This has been and is the policy of the Conference, and I confess I do not see how the proposed agreement can be said in any way to modify it or to trespass upon it. You yourself were one of those who were agreeable to joint electorates in case adult franchise were introduced, and the Punjab proposal is a much better proposition than adult franchise from the Muslim point of view. Therefore, unless you have changed your view, I do not see what danger you apprehend.

Lastly, the proposal has emanated from the Hindus and Sikhs. Already amongst the Sikhs, there is a very strong opposition, and for obvious reason. It is, therefore, not likely that the united support of Hindus and Sikhs will be forthcoming and it is only in case it is forthcoming that Muslim support must be produced. In fact, I do not see how Punjab Muslims can be deprived of the chance of improving their position by accepting this proposal. The notes which must have reached you by now make it clear how it would be a great mistake, in case Hindus and Sikhs support is forthcoming, for the Muslims to miss this chance of establishing their position, for such a chance is not likely to recur. Personally, I doubt very much that it will materialise now.

I enclose a copy of the proposed agreement and the notes attached to it. These are strictly confidential. The agreement can be shown to others including non-Muslims, but the notes are for Muslims only. Please show the letter as well as the notes to His Highness, Zafrullah and others.

I do not want you to do anything at all in England till the matter has been fully thrashed out here. It is only when a *bona fide* agreement on a very wide scale is reached here that the matter will be ripe for being mentioned in England.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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264. Simla,

20th June, 1933.

My dear Mieville,

Herewith a copy of my note which I have sent to Haig. You might like to place it before His Excellency. I feel that there is a great advantage in releasing prisoners during the period of suspension and releasing them in small batches. This action is entirely discretionary and voluntary while, if the C.D.O.[1] were abandoned by Gandhi, the release following upon abandonment would be more or less dictated to us by Gandhi's action, while releasing whom we will and when we will under the existing conditions leaves the initiative entirely to us.

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

E.C. Mieville, Esq., C.S.I., C.M.G.,
Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy,
Simla.

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1. Civil Disobedience.

(*Incomplete*)

265. Simla,
24th June, 1933.

(Dear Shafaat,)

2. Your letter about the Joint Select Committee and the chances of provincial autonomy, &c., makes a very depressing reading. I wonder if you recollect that when you left India last April you had made up your mind to work in close co-operation with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and you felt that his forces and yours combined would prove irresistible and that as the communal problem was now out of the way there was no hitch whatsoever in the way of very close co-operation working to the common benefit of all Indians. I at the time expressed agreement with you in theory but warned you against certain dangers. You seem to be now a very much disillusioned man, and I suppose in more ways than one. This is life. I did not want to disillusion you when you left because having illusions is by itself a pleasure, and I did not want to deprive you of it. Experience is a great thing but it plays hell with illusions.

I wrote to you in my last about staying there or coming here.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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266. Simla,
26th June, 1933.

My dear Aga Khan,

Thanks very much for your letter relating to the Punjab proposals of agreement between Hindu, Sikh and Muslims. The points mentioned were sent to me last week by Shafaat, and I wrote back the same week. As a matter of fact, that letter of mine must have reached you by now and there is no advantage in repeating the arguments. In your post-script, you refer to the possibility of Sikhs at a latter stage asking Muslims to give up separate electorates in exchange for their giving up weightage. There must have been some misapprehension on the subject. Sikhs constitute 13% of the population and under the agreement they will not be more than 13% in the voting register, and there is no Sikh population anywhere else in India even

to the extent of 1 or 2 per cent. That is why it is impossible to think of Sikhs in the future agreeing to joint electorates. The British Govt., retaining very heavy weightage for the English and the Anglo-Indian, will never be able to reduce the Sikh weightage ; and, above all, Sikhs even now are not likely to agree to this arrangement. But if by any chance they did, it will be my duty to see that the Hindu and Sikh offer is accepted by the vast majority of Punjab Muslims, for such a chance is not likely to recur for Muslims for years and years to come.

For the present, I do not think you and others need worry about this matter. Your position is quite sound. If the Punjab Muslims agree to the proposal, you naturally will not, and, in fact, cannot oppose it. If, on the other hand, the Punjab Muslims do not accept it, the matter does not come up to you at all.

As to the Muslim conference aspect of the problem, Shafaat in his letter this week had dwelt at length, and I am writing to him in reply, and he will no doubt place that letter as well before you.

I am sorry about the Upper Federal Legislature mode of election not being settled for Muslims until now. Indian Muslims are very much disappointed about it, and but for the fact that in the White Paper it was said that an alternative method would be given, and they interpreted it to mean that it could not be any other than separate electorates, they were for the ti me being satisfied. Now there are signs of restlessness amongst them and the Secy. of State, possibly, is not aware of the fact that the most dangerous period for a victor is when the vanquished is in the last ditch and the people all about him begin to sympathise with him and put him on his legs again. That is the position of the Congress just now and unless we are very, very careful indeed, public sympathy which is a very unreliable factor may once more move on to the Congress side. In view of the Die-hard speeches in England, Indian feeling amongst the Moderates and even reactionaries is being daily embittered, and these things may do a very great deal of harm to Government here in India.

We are all very grateful to you for the time, thought and guidance you have given to our representatives in England and we trust

Providence will vouchsafe you the health and the strength to continue this great work.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Private & confidential.

267. Simla,
26th June, 1933.

My dear Ziauddin,

Yours of the 9th June. You have mentioned two or three points:

(1) Representation in Services on the basis of representation in Legislatures, central and provincial. If Hindu-Muslim agreement could be secured on this, most of the inter-communal troubles will come to an end. If I were a Hindu leader, I would offer it to Muslims myself and strengthen my position tremendously thereby. I wish you every success in this venture.

(2) Award—Yes, the wisest thing from the Indian point of view is to leave it alone, though I feel that in the matter of Bengal it is manifestly unjust to Muslims.

(3) Recognition of communal unions—You mention that such refusal is ultra vires *in the absence of explicit law*, but here in India there is an explicit law which forbids such recognition. There is nothing like having your facts absolutely accurate.

I find you do not return till the 6th of October. That means that you intend missing the Simla session of the Assembly.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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268. Simla,
26th June, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 17th.

So you have paid a visit to Ireland. That is good.

About the Punjab affair, I have written to His Highness as well as to Shafaat, and you will no doubt see those letters. I very much doubt whether the Sikhs will agree, but if Hindus and Sikhs do, I feel convinced that the arrangement is definitely in Muslim interest, and, therefore, I must try to secure for it wide Muslim support, and I believe there will be no difficulty in doing so. I do not for the present move in the matter as Hindu and Sikh support is not definitely secured.

Now as to other points, I do not like their decision to be put off from time to time. I think His Highness and the Muslim Delegation should be able to get these matters settled by the Secy. of State. If the mode of election to the Upper Federal Chamber is not through separate electorates, Muslim India will feel that it is being unfairly treated and this may have a very bad effect on the political situation.

As to Burma, I believe the British Indian view is that Burma does not want to separate, that it should be allowed to remain a part of India as heretofore, no case for separation having been made out. This is Indian Muslim view, and it is a matter on which Muslim and Hindu India can very well unite.

I am afraid there has been some intrigue about the Kashmir Committee here. Mirza Sahib resigned, and Iqbal became President. Now Iqbal has resigned and given a statement to the press ascribing his resignation to the disruptive influences of Mirza Sahib's followers in the Committee. He and some others are carrying on a propaganda against different people for different reasons. I have always desired this question of sectarianism being kept very much in the background, but for personal reasons some Muslim leaders feel that by bringing in this element they might be improving their position

in the political world. Nothing should be done on the other side to raise this controversy because the mere fact of the controversy having been raised, it does all the damage that one would like to avoid. Is it possible for you to mention this to Mirza Sahib?

I am glad you saw Azim. He has done well in mugging up English literature to get through his English Literature Part I Tripos examination, but I hope he will work steadily at History and not in this abnormal way.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

P.S.

I suggest you might write to Mieville for His Excellency's information a short account of what is happening there. He will probably feel interested in it.

Herewith a letter from Mr. Trevaskis. I have given him your name. Please communicate with him as he desires.

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269. Simla,

28th June, 1933.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 16th. I have carefully read the letter sent by His Highness the Aga Khan and your letter. I have thought over the matter once more, with the following result:—

1. I am convinced that the proposal in this case is in the best interest of the Punjab Muslims and that the risk to the Muslim interest in other parts of India is not such as to outweigh the gain to the Punjab Muslims.

As to the Conference this is the right policy for them to adopt. The Conference has claimed separate electorates since 1924 on the ground of the minority being in a minority, as they undoubtedly are, right up till now in all provinces excepting the Frontier, and there the Conference never asked for separate electorates.

Your stressing the importance of separate electorates when writing to me has an amusing aspect to it. What you all did during the first and second Round Table Conferences in the matter of separate electorates is no longer a secret in India. It was not a secret so far as I was concerned even then, though none of you informed me about the developments. Don't you think that the separate electorates have been secured not so much by you as in spite of you. That, however, is immaterial. There they are and I am very glad of it, and I realise that in the case of all minority provinces they are indispensable, but I am Muslim enough to trust that so far as the majority provinces are concerned, they are not the Muslim ideal, and that in majority provinces Muslims should be strong enough and influential enough to let the minority as for separate electorates when Muslims must concede them.[?] In the Punjab, we have not reached that stage yet, for some leaders of the minority feel that they may benefit by joint electorates. Others are, even to-day, opposed to joint electorates and are thus opposed to these proposals. If I know my Punjab aright, I feel that the proposal is definitely in the interest of Punjab Muslims, and that inasmuch as it is a move in the right direction, I must support it. From the all-India Muslim conference point of view, the correct policy in the case of a majority province is to make it feel that it is entirely free to improve its position, having cautioned it against the possibilities of its position becoming worse. The Punjab has stood by the minority provinces when the majority provinces were weak-minded enough to believe with joint electorates that it will be a very poor return indeed of Punjab's courageous stand by the minority provinces, for you people now in your own interest to stand in the way of Punjab improving its position. If the All-India Muslim Conference takes up that attitude, then it will be doing what the Congress was not able to do—effecting disruption of united Muslim India.

You will no doubt show this to His Highness and other members.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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270. The Retreat,
Simla,
28th June, 1933.

In various papers[1] it has been stated that you with others presented a requisition to Mr. Abdul Aziz as President of the All-India Muslim League, &c., &c. I shall be glad to know if this report is correct; and in case it is correct, what was in your mind in the way of bringing this unpleasant affair to a close, and was it by any chance just out of fun ?

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

(1) Sardar Habibullah.
(2) Mian Shah Nawaz.
(3) Ghulam Mohyuddin Khan.
(4) K. B. Mian Ahmad Yar Khan.

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1. **CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE 27 JUNE, 1933**

MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL

Another Meeting at Lahore.

Delhi Notice "Illegal and Unauthorised"

Lahore, June 26. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law, President, All-India Muslim League, has called a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for July 9, 1933. The meeting will be held at 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

The following is the agenda:

1. To offer condolences on the sad demise of the late Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan and the late Sir Syed Fakhr-ud-Din. 2. To consider the present state of affairs of the League. 3. To consider the present political situation in the country. 4. To consider the question of the venue of the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League. 5. Any other matter that may come up for consideration with the permission of the chairman.

In issuing the above notice Mr. Abdul Aziz adds that the said meeting of the Council is being convened on the requisition of a number of prominent members of the Council among whom are the following :

K.B. Sardar Habib Ullah Khan, M.L.C., Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana M.L.C., Mian Shah Nawaz C.I.E., M.L.A., Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani M.L.C., Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, Nawabzada Khurshed Ali Khan, Mr. Ghulam Rasul Khan,

(*Contd.*)

271. The Retreat, Simla,
3rd July, 1933.

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 24th June.

1. **Landholders.**

You see the percentages are given in H. M. G.'s decision on the communal problem. The addition of some members, of whom Muslims are one-third, does not improve your position in the U. P. If the seats are taken from the general and put into the special of the landholders, you run the risk of their being classified communally, and so your percentage may deteriorate. On the whole, it is best to leave them well alone.

2. **Federation.**

Undue weightage to States and their mode of representation are obviously very weak points in the Federation, and the States representatives administering British India really is the limit. I am surprised that Hindu British Indians have not raised a strong voice now against it. Have not Gour and Abdur Rahim protested ?

(*from p. 313*)

Bar-at-Law, Maulvi Ghulam Mohyud-Din Khan, Advocate; Syed Afzal Ali Hasni, Municipal Commissioner, Lahore; Chaudhri Fateh Mohd, Municipal Commissioner, Lahore and Malik Barkat Ali Advocate.

The following is the full text of the requisition which has been addressed to Mr. Abdul Aziz, President, All-India Muslim League Camp, Simla :

> "We have read your announcement in the Press regarding the meeting of the Muslim League Council to be called during the autumn session of the Legislative Assembly. The affairs of the League demand promt attention, and we request you kindly to consider the advisibility of an early meeting of the Council some time in the beginning of July, 1933."

Mr. Abdul Aziz further adds that this meeting is the only authoritative meeting of the Council of the League and he refuses to recognise the legality of the meeting which has been called for July 16 at Delhi by Mirza Mohd Saeed who he says is not the Secretary of the League and which moreover, has been called without the approval of the President.

(*Contd.*)

3. **Sapru.**

He was really the one who espoused the Federation and is thus responsible for the great mischief done, though it must be admitted that all of you were with him, so cannot throw the blame on him. I wonder whether Providence will intervene and save British India from it.

4. I am glad to hear Sir Malcolm Hailey is well. I should like you to see Lady Hailey and convey my best wishes to her in case she is well enough to receive you.

Thanks for looking up Azim. He is taking up History now for his next examination.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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272. Simla,
3rd July, 1933.

Private & confidential.

My dear Ghuznavi,

In the matter of the Second Chamber in Bengal, I believe you remember that at first there was an idea that Muslim opinion was strongly for it. Lately, on reconsideration, Bengal Muslims decided

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(*from p. 313*)

Mr. Abdul Aziz desires that all members of the Council of the League should regard the notice of the Delhi meeting as absolutely illegal and unauthorised. In calling the meeting at Lahore, says Mr. Abdul Aziz, he has taken the action in order "to meet a general desire amongst the members of the Muslim community to set up the affairs of the League on a proper basis and to end the exploitation of this institution by a clique at Delhi who have absolutely no background of public life and authority behind them, and who think that they can continue to hoodwink the public by holding meetings of 10 or 12 local persons at the bidding of a few ambitious persons ready to resort to rowdyism in order to achieve their ends."

against the Second Chamber, and I think that decision was sound. I know the Britishers in Bengal still want the Second Chamber. I have given this problem my most earnest and careful consideration and have arrived at the conclusion that in spite of the temptations offered in the constitution of the Second Chamber in Bengal, from the Muslim point of view, it is best to rely upon one Chamber only, and the correct view to take is not to support the Second Chamber but to oppose it. I assure you that this view is the result of very careful consideration of the pros and cons of the problem.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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273. The Retreat, Simla,
3rd July, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 24th June.

(1) Mode of Muslim representation in the Upper Federal Chamber. What you have said is very disappointing. In my last letter to His Highness the Aga Khan, I dwelt at length on various aspects of the problem. This matter should be pressed.

(2) Upper Chambers in Bengal and Bihar. I am quite clear that they should be definitely opposed. I am writing to Ghuznavi.

As to nomination, I place very little reliance on it, unless there is statutory provision for half the places going to Muslims. I have stated the position of Muslims in the Upper Chamber of Bengal, and I know that it gives the Muslims a majority in case three or four nominations are going to Muslims, but where is the guarantee, and at what a cost? If the nomination is excluded, then the majority is definite and assured. However, the correct view to take is that there

should be no Upper Chamber, and in case it is inevitable, then the provision as to nomination should be eliminated.

(3) The same observations apply to Bihar.

(4) I am glad to hear about Orissa.

(5) What about Services. The R. T. C.'s formula as to Services was extremely vague. The White Paper is devoid of that as well. Some weeks ago I mentioned this subject but none of you has written anything about it.

It is very regrettable that Iqbal and some others are emphasising sectarian differences among Muslims. This is an attack on Muslim solidarity from within, but I trust before long the venom will have spent itself. Still, until it is spent, it is bound to give a certain amount of trouble.

With best wishes, Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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274. Simla,

3rd July 1933.

Private & Confidential.

My dear Ranga,

Yours of the 19th June.

I am sorry about the communal aspect given to the constitution of the railway authority. It was undoubtedly misplaced, and I think you and others showed great discretion and tact and did not embroil yourself in the controversy.

I am in sympathy with the view that the Minister or his representative or nominee should be the boss of the show, although the working Chairman should be a different person altogether.

I suppose by now the Railway Board work will have been finished. Is the legislation to be in India or in England? I suppose the Reserve Bank deliberations will commence forthwith, but as you say they are bound to be over by the middle of July, and in any case all your work will be over by the end of July and you will [be] with us in Simla when the Assembly session opens. Please do keep notes of interesting things that are happening to you, for we here would like to hear them on your return.

The times here are very slack. The Congress are supposed to be deliberating. What they are deliberating about is difficult to understand. The civil disobedience movement has failed and is finished. Why worry about it, and as to C.D.O. prisoners, I do not think there are more than 6 or 7 thousand in July [*Jail* ?] to-day, and by the time you return there would be many provinces where there will be none, and there will be no province in which their number will be any more than three figures and their total number will not be even 3 thousand or so. So the problem of prisoners will, before your return, have solved itself.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Mr. N.G. Ranga.

275.

The Retreat, Simla,
13th July, 1933.

Private & confidential.

Dear Shafee,

Yours of the 11th inst. You are, I am afraid, losing the All-India Muslim Conference in the provincial Bihar Conference.

(1) You claim to have got your organization in each province. Look up your registers and tell me in how many provinces you have got provincial conferences functioning. As regards the Punjab, let me inform you that there is no provincial conference in existence there.

(2) You talk of the Punjab playing false. I have never heard anything more absurd than that. If you pursue this line of thought, then I am afraid you will have the credit of disrupting the conference. If you can claim the right in Bihar to decide whether you should have separate or joint electorates, why should not the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab have the same right as soon as Muslims are really in mojority and not only in name.

(3) You talk of fixing some place and date for the next meeting of the Working Committee. The wisest thing to do would be to hold it as soon as possible, because the developments in England and in India are such as to demand immediate action, and I should not be surprised if the occasion calls for a general agreement of Indians of all schools of thought irrespective of religion. 29th and 30th of July appear to be very suitable dates, and if the meeting were held in Simla, it is bound to be well attended.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Moulvi Mohammad Shafee Daoodi.

All India Moslem League,
Ballimaran Street.
276. Delhi,
16th July 1933.

My dear Mian Saheb,

Many thanks for your kind letter dated the 11th July 1933. I availed myself of your permission to show the letter to K.S. S.M. Abdulla and a few other local members of the Council. The enclosed note will show that their opinion is very much against putting off the Council meeting fixed for the 16th July. I think their feeling is that after the Lahore meeting and in view of the accounts of its proceedings which have appeared in the press it will irreparably damage their position if they adopt a quiescent attitude. They also feel that if the Muslim Leaders of the Punjab had publicly dissociated themselves from Mian Abdul Aziz's action, it might not have been necessary for the League to take any immediate action; but, unfortunately they have not given the League any material support. On the contrary Mian Abdul Aziz seems to be receiving a good deal of sympathy

from unexpected quarters. Personally, I was very sorry not to be able to act on your advice, but, as things are at present, I am naturally reluctant to undertake too much responsibility.

I wonder you have seen Mr. Abdul Aziz's latest statement, in which he makes a certain allegation against Syed Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary. I am assured of the fact that Syed Shamsul Hasan never came to face to face with him at Lahore, and in any case, Syed Shamsul Hasan is far too shrewd a person to act in the way alleged by Mr. Abdul Aziz.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. Sa'id

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277. 20th July, 1933.

Private & confidential.

Dear Mirza Sahib,

Yours of the 16th July.

I have done my duty by tendering my advice in time, and I regret that the action taken renders the task of winding up this squabble more difficult than before. I doubt whether the League, as constituted now at Delhi with its office-bearers, has any great chance of success.

In all probability, later on, public opinion will assert itself and the two squabbling groups will have to give way. This is only for your information.

It must be said to the credit of the Punjab people that, barring Barkat Ali and Sadaq Hasan, no one is said to have attended although many had actually signed the requisition for a meeting. The spirit of fight apparently is strong in the Delhi leaders.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Mirza M. Said Sahib,
Secretary,
All-India Muslim League,
Ballimaran Street,
Delhi.

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278. Simla,
24th July, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

About Upper Federal Chamber and proportional representation for Muslims.

The two statements you sent to me were: (a) The larger one as to distribution of provincial seats amongst various communities and (b) the smaller one as to distribution of seats in the Upper Federal Chamber.

The total number of seats in the Upper Federal Chamber is 150. We ought to have 50. The second statement says that we can have 45. I am afraid this is not correct in two respects: (a) in the case of Bengal, 10 seats for Muslims out of 18 are arrived at because 10 indeterminate seats of the Upper Chamber are not taken into calculation. For purposes of guarantee, they must be taken into consideration and in the absence of any of them being earmarked for Muslims must be assumed to be non-Muslim. This results in the Muslim seats being 9 instead of 10. (b) In the case of Bihar, for the same reasons, the seats amount to 4 and not 5. This means that there will be 43 instead of 45.

The note at the foot of Statement 2 recognises that one of the indeterminate seats in the Punjab will probably go to Muslims. There again probably is no guarantee. The question, therefore, is out of 50 seats 43 can be secured at proportional representation. In other words, proportional representation fails to give Muslims the amount of representation which His Majesty's Government have guaranteed to Muslims and has been understood to have been guaranteed on the basis of separate electorates, and proportional representation is being resorted to as practically giving them separate electorates. What do Muslims want? They want that their 50 seats should be distributed amongst provinces, and election to take place through the Muslim members of the local Legislatures. So far as I can see the best way to do is to allot representation as follows:—

Madras	...	...	3
Bombay	...	...	4

Bengal...	...	... 10
U. P. ...	...	... 6
Punjab	...	... 10
Bihar ...	...	... 5
C. P. ...	...	... 1
Assam...	...	... 2
N. W. F. P.	...	... 4
Sind ...	...	... 3
Orissa ...	...	... 1
Baluchistan	...	... 1
	That makes	... 50

From one of your letters I understood the S. of S intended counting these 45 as guaranteed to us. I trust he will treat these as 43 and not 45. Then what he wanted to do was to give the balance through separate electorates and he will distribute those 7 then in a way as to probably give the province the figures that I have indicated above. Muslims will not be satisfied with this as they treat this to be an encroachment on the principle that separate electorates cannot be taken away without consent of the Muslim community. I trust His Highness and you all will impress this very strongly on the mind of the S. of S.

I understand generally the Indian Delegation is in a more or less demoralised condition and such an atmosphere cannot but be reflected in the views that one forms. However, it is necessary on such occasion for one to think clearly and to act on well-defined principles and not weaken or falter.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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279. Simla,

29th July, 1933.

My dear Mieviile,

We had a meeting of the Executive Council on the 27th and discussed Gandhi. Then we had another meeting on the 28th where in

the Princes Protection Bill was discussed for two hours. Clauses 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 were left intact. All agreed to omit Clause 3, and Clause 4 was, after very considerable discussion, modified. All these decisions were arrived at unanimously with the concurrence of the Political Secretary, except on one point in clause 4. There the Council was unanimous in its decision, and the Political Secretary thought that a greater measure of protection was desired by the Princes than the Council felt could be reasonably given. This point was private and personal character of the Princes — rather a ticklish affair. In view of His Excellency's interest in the subject, we did our best to explore the possibilities of extending the protection that we felt could be reasonably given, but the difficulties in the way were found to be insuperable. I have no doubt the Home Department will write to you at length on the subject.

Then we had another talk about Gandhi and came to the conclusion that Gandhi's last statement, as a whole, was not half bad, and was in fact, quite good. His present attitude of mind is not at all embarrassing to Government, and we feel that the position is developing very nicely, and poor old Gandhi is losing most of his admirers very rapidly and is exhibiting the usual frailties of mankind in an ever increasing degree. His explanation about his having a scheme which would be acceptable to the Congress as well as to the British Parliament was that he himself had no such scheme in mind but that he hoped that in the presence of His Excellency inspiration would come and such a scheme would emerge. I consider that highly complimentary to His Excellency.

After the Executive Council meeting, we had a meeting of the Economic Sub-Committe of Council and discussed therein New Zealand's desire to enter into a trade agreement with us.

The Punjab Legislative Council met in Simla the other day and the new Governor gave the Council his first address. It was a very good one.

We are all delighted to hear that His Excellency has got rid of his lumbago. Most hearty congratulations on that.

Now that you are in Bombay, perhaps you might be able to attract Gandhi from Ahmedabad!

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

E.C. Mieville, Esq., C.S.I., C.M.G.,
Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy,
Viceroy's Camp.

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280. Simla,
18th August, 1933.

My dear Haig,

You very kindly supplied me with the communal composition of I. C. S. on the 31st December, 1932. On examination, I find that position is as put down in the accompanying note. In the light of these statistics, you might like to consider whether as a temporary measure, say for two or three years, it is not fair and just to raise the Muslim representation which is undoubtedly very inadequate, and the same cannot be said of the representation of others. As you know, I have pressed this point more than once but have not had the good fortune to persuade you that it is in public interest that a community which is about 42% should have 83% representation in the Service. It cannot be in public interest that such a state of affairs should continue.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Simla.

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281. The Retreat, Simla,
11th September, 1933.

My dear Ahmad Yar,

I hope you have had a nice time in Bombay, and Mumtaz proceeded on his passage in a pleasant mood. I am sure he will benefit a

great deal from his studies at Oxford and return to India fully equipped for the great task that is before the young men of to-morrow.

The working Committee of the all-India Muslim League have decided a session of the Conference at Patna on the 29th and 30th September. You can send as many as 70 delegates, *i.e.*, all legislators, provincial and central, and as many more, and it is essential that you should have there no less than 25 people present, of whom 8 should be legislators and 17 others.

As to legislators, in view of the Provincial Conference having come into being just now, this is the first important work to be done by it, and either you or Mr. Din Md. should accompany the Delegation and make a strong impression in this all-India gathering. Who will be the legislators you can persuade to go? Pir Akbar Ali, Riasat Ali, Habibullah, Talib Mehdhi, Quraishi Md. Hayat, Malik Md. Din, Muhammad Yusaf; and of others, a son of Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, a son of Nawab Fateh Ali Khan, Haji Rahim Bakhsh, Iqbal, *Siasat*, *Inquilab* and others who want to go. If Pir Taj is there and he would like to go, he should be asked, and it should be made as representative as possible, and leading people from all over the province should be asked. The whole thing should be ready within ten days, and, therefore, a meeting should be called to elect these people not later than the 20th. You should consult Haji Rahim Bakhsh and Syed Habib about the matter, and do it with great enthusiasm and discretion. I had intended that Firoz should go, but he has not been keeping very well and needs a little rest badly, and, therefore, I have, on the whole, decided to let him off. He has been very good in going to many places in the past, and I think he deserves the consideration I have shown him in letting him off. Therefore, the responsibility for arranging this is entirely yours.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana

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282. Rafiq Manzil, Lucknow,
2nd October, 1933.

My dear Sir Fazle Husain,

The contents of your letter caused me with something like an agreeable surprise. Not hearing from you for the last three months I

thought even your kind efforts had failed and in a moment of despair I asked my legal advisers to vindicate my character in a court of law. Fortunately only the legal Notice had been issued and I have asked my solicitors not to take any further step without further instructions from me. My character had been my pride and on its strength I have defied every one. I was therefore shocked when I heard from certain Members of Assembly how maliciously it had been impugned. Nadir Shah will tell you how my lamented friend and brother Sir Mohammed Shafi used to scold me for my unbending and dare-devil attitude, which, as he said, often caused misunderstandings. The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow has written a letter to Mr. Slon of the Home Department which will speak for itself. Need I say how grateful I feel for the generous way in which you are championing Khalil; but I will beg you not bother yourself about my case. I have finished with this world and it does not matter to me what they think of me. So long as I stand clear before my God and the public as also my friends, the aspersions of my enemies do not trouble me in the least.

But Khalil's case is quite different. He stands on the threshold of life and any unjust suspicion may mar the future. He has not seen me for nearly a year but from the contents of your letter to him I fear he has been rash in his dealings. I thank you however for your straight forward query and the opportunity which it offers to him to clear himself. As a father I pray he may be able to give a straight answer.

As regards criticisms of your sayings and doings I may assure you that so far as the Muslim community in general is concerned they fully realise your self sacrificing efforts in the cause of ISLAM and I sent you the cuttings not to impress you with any service that I was doing but to show you what favourable change is taking place in public opinion as regards yourself.

I do not know if you find time to read the *Hamdam*. But I am glad to say that it now exercises considerable influence on the Muslim mind in this Province as well as in Behar. Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan may have told you how the Mussalmans in this Province regard it as

their champion and I send you here with one or two letters which will tell their own tale. Mr. Young, Editor of the "Pioneer", thinks that the *Hamdam* has fascinated the people and Sir Mohammed Yusuf says it is a tower of strength to Government. I wonder if you could do me the favour to write to me privately something more on the question of Pan-Islamism and I will commit the indescretion of publishing your views in the Paper. The subject is agitating the Muslim mind at present and your views will go to their hearts.

Thanking you again ;

Yours sincerely,
Abdullah Khan

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283. **Private & Confidential.**

Inverness Lodge,
Roehampton, S.W. 15,
13th October, 1933.

My Dear Sir Mian Sahib,

It is for some [time] that I have not had the pleasure of writing to you. We have been having nice weather, and through God's kindness my health has been excellent.

Azim has been with me for a few days before joining his College this term. I took him to Cambridge with me as Field Marshall Birdwood had invited me to lunch at Cambridge. He told me that Azim should see him, and I have told him to do so.

The decision of the Govenment about the representation of the Muslims in the All-India Services came like a bombshell, and I had to prepare my case within a day. I wanted to consult some Muslim friends, but owing to short time could not get them. The most unfortunate part was that your note of dissent did not arrive till practically all was over. I put up a hard fight as best as I could but everybody else was against me. I dug out Para. 9 of our deputation to Lord Minto in 1909, about our claim in this respect, and quoted his words in reply to it, and then read to them Sir Alexander Muddiman's pledge. The two notes that I put up will give you some idea of the line I took, but before that I urged upon the Committee to wait till

your minute of dissent and other papers arrived, but as Sir H. Gidney's evidence was coming on about the Anglo Indians, they were afraid of their critics of whom they are getting stronger daily, and they would not give me even half a day.

The matter took a new turn here as they put forward that weightage of the Anglo Indians is required for the purposes of defence. Apart from what is in my notes, I put so many more questions but all had made up their minds to help their co-religionists and kith and kin, but that did not deter me from fighting at every inch, and I kept them at bay for three days. Otherwise, the whole thing could have been settled in a day. I told them that we are sturdy men, and our number was fast increasing than other communities. Towards the end I even tried to bargain by stooping a bit low that in Departments where Anglo-Indians are considered useful for Defence, I would not mind making a sacrifice, but in others I stuck to 29 because up to then there was nothing in the papers or the file that 38 was suggested to be reserved for the minority communities instead of 33 1/3rd. Then just the last day when practically everything was finished your note arrived by cable. I came forward and said that anything which was settled by the Committee should be set aside and reconsidered in the light of your note. I told them it was not to confirm the Government of India's decision as this was the Court of Appeal also to revise such decisions. But finding that the quota for the minorities was raised to help the Anglo-Indians and those only I gave up bargaining and the idea of achieving something over 25% but dissented on a different point altogether from the whole thing, that the best fighting classes belong to Punjab, and the population of Sikhs though small, from an All-India point of view, are very strong in the Punjab, and I said that Muslims would not tolerate that they should be left behind.

However, I have put up a strong fight, and although these are in a way notes of dissent, I am still preparing another, now that I have got your note yesterday.

None of the Committee tried to argue the Muslim case with me, as they could not, but had to do so by closing their eyes. I felt proud to know the vigorous stand you took and pray for your health and long life.

When the Committee was considering the coming budget I pointed out to them that the Zamindar would have to half starve his children and himself, and still live when paying half the Revenue if the other half was remitted; but if no moratorium was declared about his debt to the *Bania*, the whole machinery will become unworkable.

I am sorry that Khizar has not recovered yet which has been a matter of anxiety to me.

Lady Umar has asked me to send her kind regards to Lady Fazli Hussain and love to the children.

Hoping you are in the best.

Yours sincerely,
Umar Hayat Tiwana

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284. The Retreat, Simla
23rd October, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 13th October.

As regards the High Court of Lahore, the matter of Chief Justice-ship should be broached with the S. of S. by His Highness the Aga Khan. I have discussed the whole matter with Ghuznavi. Unless the S. of S. is prepared to do the deed, it cannot be done. You should expect nothing from the Province, and acquiescence or neutrality from the Centre; but, as you know, the point rests with the S. of S. and he can make it on the ground that he cannot find a better man in the London market, because better men will not come, and weaker men will do more harm than good.

About the Indian Medical Council,—yes do see Forster and also Sir Norman Walker and let me know all about it as soon as possible. If a man is to be taken from the academic medical world of Britain, then he should be prepared to join in January, or, at all events, not later than the 1st of February. In case Sir Norman Walker thinks that of the men available Surgeon General Forster is a suitable man and that Forster wants to be considered, I should like to know, so that if he is to be appointed, he should at once visit a few universities

with Medical Faculties and study their curricula, and clinical Hospitals, &c., and also obtain access to the Inspection Committee's reports on medical colleges there. The Indian point of view is essential, and in the case of Forster, I believe it is there. However, many other things have also to be looked into before any choice could be made.

As to the Joint Select Committee, the great thing is to have the Provincial Autonomy legislation introduced and passed in 1934, so that provincial autonomy could come into being in 1935, preferably in Spring, and in any case not later than November, 1935. As to the centre, the matter can be left hanging fire three or four years, and the present arrangement to continue as a transitional arrangement.

I have given you lots of work in the way of making purchases. I trust you will not mind it too much.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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285. **Private & Confidential.**

The Retreat, Simla
27th November, 1933.

My dear Raja Sahib of Salempur,

Yours of the 23rd December, enclosing a copy of your Presidential Address. I will go through it with pleasure and such scraps of it as I saw in the papers showed that it was conceived in a statesmanlike spirit.

I am now, as before, convinced that you have not the slightest idea of injuring the best interest of the Indian Muslims, and further that you are under no delusion as to the realities of the situation, but I regret that I have not had an opportunity of exchanging views with you on matters of detail which arise from time to time ; and although we have identity of purpose, we have not developed the requisite mentality to think more or less in the same terms of the methods of achieving that purpose. In my last note I had expressed a hope that

it would be possible to have such an opportunity.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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286. **Telegram :**

(From: His Highness the Aga Khan, Bombay
4th December, 1933.)

X VA BOMBAY 14.31, SIR FAZLI HOSAIN, MEMBER VICEROY'S COUNCIL, NEW DELHI.

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM AM ANXIOUS SEE YOU BEFORE DOING ANYTHING PLEASE WRITE ME YOUR MOVEMENTS WILL DO NOTHING TILL THEN.

AGA KHAN

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287. New Delhi,
16th December, 1933.

Dear Aga Khan,

Thanks awfully for your very kind telegram. My movements are as follows :—

I stay here in New Delhi till the 2nd of January, when I leave for Calcutta where I reach on the 6th, and on the way I stop a couple of days at Benares. I stay at Calcutta from the 6th to the 11th, when I leave for Dacca and return to Calcutta 3 days later via Barisal where I stay for a day. Then I leave Calcutta on the 18th for Delhi, and on the way stop for a couple of days at Patna. From the 22nd onwards till the end of March I will be in New Delhi, except that I may go for a day or so to Jaipur and Ajmer during February.

There is a good deal of restlessness amongst certain circles, both among Muslims and others. Attempts, I understand, are being made to rush Muslims into certain positions and proposals and undermine their position *qua* His Majesty's Government and the award. To achieve that object, I am told, recourse is being had to all sorts of devices the ingenuity of keen witted politicians can devise, and some Muslim leaders unfortunately are so constituted as to fall easy victims to such manoeuvres. Muslim India has been looking forward

to your arrival in India so as to safeguard the position which, on the whole, is not too bad. I do not think there is any chance of these devices succeeding. The Muslim postion is sound and, on the whole, I believe, safe, if not impregnable, but one ought not to neglect any opportunity of strengthening and improving the position. I am sure such differences as exist (and these differences are more personal than of principles) it will be possible to compose with the help of your — if I may so put it—cementing personality.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

288.

4th Floor, Ismail Building,
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
23rd December, 1933.

Private & Confidential.

My dear Mian Saheb,

One has to exercise a great deal of patience when one reads in newspapers that the Muslim leaders are quarelling amongst themselves for no rhyme or reason, and creating unnecessary conflict at a time when unity is the most essential thing for the cause of the Muslims.

It was after a superhuman effort, fighting with men like Jinnah, Rajah of Mahmudabad, Pundit Motilal Nehru and a host of other leaders, that I was able to bring about a successful Muslim Conference in 1929, which formulated what are known as the Muslim demands. This Conference has saved, if I may say so, the Muslim position in India. I handed over the reins of my office to Moulvi Shafi Daoodi and my Treasurership to Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon. Soon after this was done somewhere in the year 1931, I found to my utter disappointment that men who belonged to my group and whom I used to keep in my good books, were gradually going out of this association and trying to make common cause with the Nationalist

Muslims, who are nothing but pro-caste Hindus in their views. Men like Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mufti Kifayatula, Rajah of Salimpore, Nawab Ismail Khan, the late Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Abdul Matin Chowdari, and one or two others, have openly declared a sort of war against the Muslim Conference. It is necessary therefore to ascertain the cause of this alienation and to remedy it.

You are aware that His Highness the Aga Khan has returned to India after rendering very meritorious services to the community. I was thinking of taking advantage of his visit and bringing back the leaders who were once with the Muslim Conference. I am therefore suggesting for your consideration that His Highness should be presented with an address by the Muslims of India some time in February in Delhi during the session of the Assembly. The manifesto for the presentation of the address should be widely signed and contain names of all prominent Muslim leaders of all Provinces. The function should be presided over by men like H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, or my father, if he is able to undertake the journey, or Sir Akbar Hydari or Sir Mahomed Ikbal. His Highness will then get an opportunity of placing before the Assemblage the work that he and his co-delegates have done for the Muslims of India, and it would also obviate the necessity of calling a session of the All India Muslim Conference, for which I understand Moulvi Shafi Daoodi is pressing. Being an official, I have to utilise some other channel to carry out my suggestion, but I shall only act provided it meets with your approval.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sir) Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola

The Hon. Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
New Delhi.

Private & Confidential

289. New Delhi
26th December, 1933.

My dear Fazal,

Yours of the 23rd inst.

As to the events leading up to the institution of the All-India

Muslim Conference in 1929, I am myself aware of them, and I entirely agree with you that the Indian Muslims should take advantage of the presence of His Highness the Aga Khan in India now.

In the course of your letter, you say that arrangements might be made for an address to be presented by the Muslim leaders of India to His Highness at Delhi in February, in reply to which His Highness will give an account of what the Muslim Delegation did in London, and that this presentation of address and reply would obviate the necessity of calling a session of the All-India Muslim Conference, for which you understand Maulvi Shafee Daoodi is pressing. This seems to imply that it is undesirable to hold a session of the All-India Muslim Conference and that the device you suggest is more beneficial to the Muslim community and more suited to the position and dignity of His Highness than the Muslim Conference. I am afraid you have not given very careful consideration to the whole problem and to this proposal. If His Highness presides over the All-India Muslim Conference, that will be but a natural thing to happen, because (1) His Highness was the founder of the institution; (2) during the last three or four years, the All-India Muslim Conference has been keeping in close touch with the Muslim Delegation in London and more or less lays down the policy for Indian Muslims to follow and has resulted in the achievement of a marked success, and, according to some, a better success than was anticipated by most. Is it wise to throw over the institution because some people do not happen to like individual office bearers ? To my mind, this would be deplorable as well as disgraceful. If the institution needs reform, press for reform and get it reformed. If the majority of members do not like an office bearer, get rid of him in accordance with the rules and regulations of the organization. Compared with political organizations in India, the All-India Muslim Conference stands out prominent and pre-eminent. The Congress organization is for the time being out of work. All Liberal organizations are in a chaotic condition. The Muslim league is in a bad way. Miscellaneous federations are seasonal. The All-India Muslim Conference is, therefore, the most outstanding political organization as the Hindu Mahasabha is the outstanding religio-politico organization. It is, therefore, in the

fitness of things that His Highness the Aga Khan should preside over it.

Now as to your suggestion of an address: For His Highness the Aga Khan to accept an address from Muslim leaders is open to most serious criticism, firstly, because during the last stage of the Joint Select Committee deliberations in London, His Highness the Aga Khan led the Indian Delegation and not only the Muslim Delegation. Coming to India for him to receive an address from Muslim leaders only, and, in answer, to give them the achievements of the Muslim Delegation is to create a new feature exclusively communal. This does not befit either His Highness' dignity and position or the present-day situation, and is bound to create a chorus of strong anti-address comment. Secondly, such collection of leaders can never constitute a representative gathering properly so called. Thirdly, the spirit of the present-day times is sectarian, and many will raise their voice against His Highness and against those who are making such special and exclusive efforts in this direction; and, fourthly, His Highness' reply to this address is bound to be extraordinarily difficult, and I feel convinced that His Highness would not thank any one who tried to place him in that position. I think it is necessary that His Highness be warned of it and I trust that it will be done. Therefore, the conclusion I have arrived at is that it is not wise and it is not right to organize this address scheme; that it is advisable to hold a meeting of the All-India Muslim Conference; and that it is right that His Highness should preside over it, and that it is possible to bring a section of those Muslims who are keeping aloof from the Conference to this gathering, and that it will also not be difficult to compose the troubles of the League.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Bombay.

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290. 6, King Edward Road, New Delhi,
26th December, 1933.

My dear Aga Khan,

I have written about the All-India Muslim Conference meeting.

I enclose a copy of my letter to a friend of mine. This sums up the whole position. I am giving this letter to Maulvi Shafee Daoodi so that he may obtain your decision as to where to hold this meeting —in Patna or in Delhi. Where-ever you decide, the work should be commenced at once—Patna on the 20th of January, and Delhi on the 10th and 11th of February. As there is very little time left, it has been considered necessary for Maulvi Shafee Daoodi to wait upon you at once.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

His Highness the Aga Khan,
Aga Hall, Bombay.

Private & Confidential

Home Member,
Viceroy's Council,
291. New Delhi
2nd January 1934.

Dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for your note regarding civil disobedience which we have considered carefully in the Home Department. We are in agreement with your general estimate of the situation. You have suggested action in three particular respects.

(a) Examination of the Regulation prisoners with a view to releasing all except those whose release is definitely unwise.

The only Regulation prisoners at present detained as a result of the civil disobedience movement are (a) Patel, and (b) four N.W.F.P. prisoners, namely, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Saadullah Khan, Attaullah Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib. Though the three latter are no doubt of less importance than Abdul Ghaffar Khan, it is diffiicult to distinguish their cases from his, and we feel that if any of them were released this would at once stimulate a demand for the release of the others including Abdul Ghaffar Khan. At present we understand

that no interest is being taken in the release of any of these four, and I cannot help feeling that we had better let things settle down still further in the N. W. F. P. before we take up this question. It is an inflammable area and Abdul Ghaffar Khan has done immense mischief there in the past. I suppose, moreover, there is some possibility that we may have trouble in Afghanistan in the spring. I should prefer to do nothing at present about these men.

(b) Premature release of the 3000 ordinary civil disobedience prisoners.

There is not at present any prohibition on the continuance of the policy of premature release, and indeed I understand that local Governments are still carrying this on to the extent which they consider the circumstances justify, but it is evident that the scope for any such policy at present is very limited. Out of 3312 prisoners at the end of November, no less than 2207 had been convicted in the last four months. There can be no question of premature release in the case of those who deliberately, after the suspension of civil disobedience, offered themselves again for jail. Of the remaining 1000, it is probable that within the next month or so nearly all will be out in the ordinary course of events. I do not, therefore, feel that there is any case for suggesting to local Goverments that they should further expedite the release of civil disobedience prisoners.

(c) A review of restrictive orders under civil disobedience legislation.

This is practically entirely a Bombay problem. Out of 794 such orders in force at the end of October, 766 have been passed by the Bombay Government. Conditions in Bombay have been such that I should not feel justified in asking them to relax these orders. They have in fact been reduced in number very considerably since I was there last July. I discussed the problem with the Government of Bombay and they were fully alive to the importance of not keeping these orders in force longer than is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Harry Haig

The Hon'ble
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Member of Council.

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292. Camp Benares,
4th January, 1934.

Dear Aga Khan,

Yours from Poona. I have read the letter very carefully, and I have had the advantage of hearing from Maulvi Shafee Daoodi the purport of the talks he had with you, and I have also heard from Fazal. I enclose a copy of my letter to Fazal for facility of reference.

Such thought as I have been able to give to the problem has led me to the following conclusions:

(1) Your view that a meeting of the Conference be held only if the 1929 position is maintained or improved upon is perfectly sound and should be our guiding principle.

(2) That it is possible to act on that principle. The 1929 position, I believe, will be maintained and probably improved upon.

I was for a few hours at Lucknow on my way from Delhi to Benares and had occasion to see the Rajah Sahib of Salempur. He is ready to work with the Conference. His views are sound and he shows very good spirit. The squabble about persons can be adjusted.

(3) As to a large gathering of leaders preceding this Conference, further consideration has not enabled me to change my view which is that it is in modern times extremely difficult to arrange. The days of 1906 Minto deputation are a quarter of a century old, and now any attempt at collecting leaders is bound to be attacked by the Hindu press as well as by the Congress section of the Muslim press as fictitious and unrepresentative and as a gathering of reactionaries and toadies, &c. It will be difficult to collect men too. Moreover, this is creating another authority over and above the authority of the elected members in provincial and central Legislatures. Therefore, the object of this gathering can be achieved in Delhi collecting all the elected Muslim members of the Central Legislature, and, if necessary, some representatives of local Legislatures.

(4) My old idea of bringing in Hindus for the time has to be dropped. At present, I do not see any prospect of it, but one never knows one's luck. I should not say that it is impossible.

Mr. Badr-ul-Islam is arranging a furnished house for you in Delhi and he told me that he was in direct communication with you. I trust he will be able to secure you one in New Delhi.

I am now passing on to Calcutta where I reach on the 6th and where my address will be No. 18 Canal Street, Intally.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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293. Camp Calcutta,
10th January, 1934.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 6th inst.

I went to Benares for a couple of days, but the idea of stopping at Lucknow for a few hours came into my mind only a few hours before leaving Delhi. I met there the Hon'ble Mr. Srivastava, His Excellency the Governor and the Rajah Sahib of Salempur, and also saw Mr. Abdullah Khan.

As you know, His Highness the Aga Khan is here in India. He will be coming to Delhi next month. He has done a great deal in London, but of course you know that better than I do. The question is what sort of functions should be held and where. *Prima facie*, it is right that the meeting of the all-India Muslim Conference should be held, but its office-bearers have got into some sort of confusion or trouble, and in this case as in others, persons and personalities tend to mar the working of this institution. Every effort should be made to prevent damage being done. As a matter of fact, there is no difference of opinion between different schools of political thought in India on the present position, and I think that it would be a good thing if various leading Muslims combined together to demonstrate the solidarity of the community. When I had a talk with the Rajah Sahib of Salempur at Lucknow, the impression left on my mind was that he and his friends were ready to co-operate with others. Since

then, Maulvi Shafee Daoodi has met me and related to me the conversation he had with the Rajah Sahib and also shown me the Rajah Sahib's memorandum which insists upon calling a new conference. If the Rajah Sahib's view is that he will not co-operate with the conference and try to put conference matters right where they need being put right, this is much to be regretted because this is not the way to help. Do you think it is possible to bring all these groups together? If so, I should like every effort made in that direction.

I am going to Dacca and Barisal to-morrow, and on my way back I will be staying at Patna for a couple of days, but I will be back in Delhi on the 22nd.

As to coming to Aligarh, of course, I will. As to when, will depend upon how I find the work at Delhi on my return.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Nawab Ahmad Saeed, Chhatari.

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294. Chhatari,

January 13, 1934.

My dear Sir Fazli Husain,

Thanks for your letter of the 10th. I had some talk with Maulvi Shafi Daudi who saw me here on his way to Lucknow and I gave him a letter to the Rajah Sahib of Salempur pursuading him to join hands with the Maulvi Sahib. I heard nothing from him after that. But I gather from your letter that his interview with the Raja in Lucknow did not prove a success. I entirely agree with you that there is hardly any difference amongst the Muslims at present, and if we hear some discordant notes some times, it is more due to personal feelings than to any difference of principle. I shall be going to Lucknow on the 19th and would talk to the Rajah Sahib about it. I shall try to pursuade him to join hands with the All India Muslim Conference and put the things right if he does not like them any where. But if I find that this suggestion is not agreeable to the Rajah Sahib, may I drop a suggestion to you as *via media, i.e.*, that instead of

asking any one organisation to call a meeting let a meeting of all Muslims be called by the prominent members of the community including secretaries and presidents of various Muslim Organisations. It will be All India Muslim Conference, but the difficulties caused by personalities will be obviated. I need not say that I shall try my very best to carry out your suggestion with which I entirely agree.

With all good wishes for a very happy Eid, and with kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
Ahmad Said

The Hon'ble.
Mian Sir Fazli Husain,
KCSI, KCIE, Kt.
Camp Calcutta.

295.
Private

Lallgarh,
Bikaner,
Rajputana.
21st January, 1934.

My dear Sir Fazli Husain,

I am enclosing a letter from the Nawab of Chhatari that speaks for itself. I am going to Kapurthala for 3 or 4 days then again 3 or 4 days in Bombay. I will be at New Delhi on or about the 2nd of February till say the 13 or 14. I am giving you these days so that you might be able to write me before you see me in Delhi and also to decide what we should do after I get there if you wish to. Well, the more I think of the Moslem situation (and you know that it is more to me than life itself) the more convinced I feel that we are on the threshold of making our position safe by the Communal Award but that *one* false step and our future is once more in the melting pot the Communal Award upset just as the Poona Pact upset the original award. There are elements amongst the British officials who would welcome more than anything such a foolish act on our part.

All the Bombay civilians and all the Government of Bombay and the Europeans would give anything to see the Communal Award go overhand because it would undo the separation of Sind which is a part of the Communal Award.

Bombay is hoping against hope that our folly will save them. Then all the Hindus of India hope against hope that once more the Moslems will repeat their 1400 years old history and in the moment of victory by their own folly lose it all. I feel we are now like a man who has got a decree but has not been able to execute it and who can be tricked into giving up his real decree in hand for a nominal compromise. All the so-called Nationalist Moslems and their allies open or secret are now doing their utmost to make the Moslems take one false weak step between *now* and the passage of the bill into Act in 1936—knowing full well that after that they will have to be loyal to Moslem interests alone and that their game of self-seeking intrigue is up. But now comes the real danger. The Conference, the League or any other body if it is to meet and discuss will open the door to the other elements to counter attack the Communal Award and by making, thanks to the Hindu press, all powerful, such a noise as to frighten the British Government to go back and say "as important Moslems are opposed to it they are not prepared to push it through Parliament." Many ex-I.C.S. men even in the India Office and all the die hard Lord Salisbury element, men like Lord Ronaldshay and the Prime Minister himself would welcome such a step and would jump at it. The Government then would be all against Sam Hoare who himself would be disgusted with us for letting him down by our incompetence and our inability to leave *well alone*. By all means let us have our speeches and our Tamashas our Unity Conferences and our Moslem unity movements but *only aftèr the Communal Award is law of the land and Act of Parliament a reality*. Believe me my dear Fazli the Moslem unity will be a *fact* of itself once the intriguers find the law is passed and that they are compelled by separate electorate to depend on Moslem voters and Moslem goodwill. And if in Moslem interests we want to give up separate electorates ourselves *then* Hindus will be ready to give us *good* terms and only after it is a fact in the Act of Parliament will it have that bargaining value that it has

not got at present. All this makes me feel unless *you* can *assure* me that the Communal Award *as it is* will be strengthened and can be strengthened in Delhi by some Moslem gesture which you can prepare; unless I am sure of this position I for one am not ready to say or do anything that may give the impression that the question is *not "res judicata"*. When I get back to London in April I must be in a position to shout "you are breaking your promise" to the English *people* directly by the Press and by our friends help. I must be in that position till the bill is passed. If we keep to the firm ground that we are not going to discuss the Communal Award either with the recalcitrant Moslem elements or with anybody else, if we can keep to that position we are safe. If we ourselves give the others a chance of coming with their noisy goondas and weaken our apparent position thanks to the Hindu press then we are lost and I for one will not be in a position to stand up like a watch dog till the bill is passed to Act of Parliament in London.

Forgive this long rigmarole. I am writing in a Railway Train. I can say more but you can judge what I mean by what I have said.

Yours always,
Aga Khan

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296. Chhatari,
25th January, 1934.

My dear Sir Fazli Husain,

As I promised in my last letter, I met the Raja Sahib of Salempore whom you had also written. He told me that he had sent you a letter and a memorandum through Maulavi Shafi Daudi. He was not, however, certain whether you had received his letter. He told me that he does not wish to challenge the Communal Award in any way, but he is of the opinion that if the meeting is to be called on behalf of the Muslim Conference then the Nationalist Muslims would not participate in it; and hence the three suggestions that the Raja Sahib made in the memorandum which he had sent to you.

In my opinion we should do nothing which may create an impression out side that there is a difference of opinion among the

Mohamedans. I do not see any harm in the suggestion of His Highness' himself asking prominent Muslims to come and confer with him. To me this seems to be the easiest course. I shall be obliged to have your views regarding this point,

Yours sincerely,
Ahmad Said

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297. New Delhi,
26th January, 1934.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 25th inst. It is much to be regretted that the Raja Sahib insists upon calling a new Conference and that your influence with him has failed to persuade him to modify his view. You add that nothing should be done which will bring to light a difference of opinion among the Muslims. If this policy were adopted, it would be possible for any small group of Muslims to prevent the community as a whole from doing anything or achieving anything. The tyranny of a recalcitrant minority may thus become a very great menace to the welfare of the community.

As to the suggestion *re.* asking prominent Muslims, that was examined and the result of the hurried examination was that it was not adopted. A matter like this cannot be discussed by correspondence. When you are here, we will go into the matter thoroughly.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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298.
Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, Kt.
M. A., Ph. D.
Barrister-at-Law,
Lahore. 31st January, 1934.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Thanks for your kind letter which I received a moment ago. I am very sorry to say that it will not be possible for me to come and

meet you and His Highness the Agha Khan. My present circumstances and past experience have seriously affected my outlook. I do hope you will excuse my absence from the proposed consultation at Delhi. To the same effect I have written to M. Shafi Daudi whose letter reached me along with yours.

The motto is excellent; but it is almost impossible to give the same terseness to the Urdu translation. I suggest a similar thought in Persian :

'رشتۂ در گردنم افگندہ دوست
می برد ہرجاکہ خاطرخواہ اوست'

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

299.
Private.

29-Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
3rd February, 1934.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I am extremely sorry I cannot come to Delhi. I intended staying and having a chat with you, but I could not leave Allahabad. I intend arriving in Delhi on the 9th, so as to be there a day earlier, and seeing you about the programme which Ghaznavi informs me you have chalked out. I know nothing at all about the programme, whatever it is, I need hardly say that I will obey your orders with the mechanical efficiency of a drill sergeant.

Again, I need hardly add that if my Chairmanship is going to have obstacle in the attainment of Muslim solidarity, then please inform those who may inquire that you are authorised to tender resignation of my Chairmanship of the Muslim Conference on my behalf. My only consolation is and has been so far, that the community expressed its confidence in me by electing me its Chairman. I should be setting a very poor standard, indeed, to the rest of the community if I stood in the way of national solidarity by remaining Chairman. I have not mentioned this to anyone, but you may announce it if in your opinion it facilitates the success of your projects.

I hope to see you next Friday morning, if you are free that day.

Believe me,

Ever yours affectionately,
Shafaat

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300. 4th February, 1934.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Rajah of Salempur has just left me. He told me that he is telling you everything except one thing that he himself is rather shy about talking but which he allows me to tell you as a واسطه .

This is that if a reconciliation of Conference and League takes place his personal position in the future should in no way be weakened and that he should not be in any way placed in the position of having left in the lurch all he had stood for. In fact some face saving formula or position will have to be found for him.

Perhaps what we did in 1908 with 1st Muslim League might be revived and any central Moslem body found might contain

1 President *for the year*, 10 or 12 Vice Presidents for 3 or 5 years and a Secretary for 5 or 3 years. This might make matters easier. The President should, 'I think', be an annual position like that of the Congress.

Yours very sincerely,
Aga Khan

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301. 8, Keeling Road,
Private. New Delhi.
11th February, 1934.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have pondered over the proposals made by you, and naturally I will carry out your orders. I am afraid it has not been possible for you to see and discuss the matter with members of my party, such as Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, Mr. Zahur Ahmad and others. They were unable to discuss the matter. I should be deeply grateful if an

opportunity could be given to them to do so, this evening. They will phone to you after the Viceroy's party, and talk about the matter.

The Chhatari group has worked against me personally for the last ten years, and is fundamentally opposed to me. I do hope you will not listen to this group without giving me opportunity of replying. I propose to stay on till the 15th and if you have any time, and are better, I shall pay my respects to you again.

Yours sincerely,
Shafaat Ahmad Khan

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302. 8-Keeling Road,
New Delhi.
12th February, 1934.

Dear Mian Sahib,

There seems to be an impression in certain circles that our relations are strained and that we cannot pull on together. This is absolutely groundless. We have complete confidence in each other and shall work together for the success of the Conference in future. By this writing we want to remove the false impression. It should not be taken as a manoeuvre to retain our position in the Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Md. Shafee Daoodi

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303. 8-Keeling Road,
New Delhi.
13th February, 1934.

Dear Guru,

With reference to my conversation on the phone, I confirm what I told you, and you are at complete liberty to do as you think proper. The letter sent last night was sent to remove the impression that our relations were not on the same plane. But as I explained to you on the phone, my letters from Allahabad hold ground. This is a very small matter indeed, I am prepared to do anything that you ask me to carry

out, like a disciplined soldier. If some of my friends are saying anything to the contrary, they have not got my authority or countenance. Maulana Mazharuddin and Shafi Daudi are coming to see me just now, and I will inform them of it.

Shafaat Ahmad Khan

Whatever His Highness decides
I will abide by it, as explained
by me personally to Mr. Rahim Baksh.

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304. 8, Keeling Road,
New Delhi.
14 February, 1934.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I have thought about the manner in which my severance from the Conference should be effected, and I have come to the conclusion that it will [be] best if I resign voluntarily, instead of subjecting this case to the controversies that may arise over the arbitral award of His Highness the Aga Khan. I think it would be conducive both to stability and harmony if no dispute arises as a result of anything that may be done by the Executive Board tomorrow, and for this purpose, the best thing in my humble opinion will be for me to send in my resignation in the terms indicated in the enclosure. Otherwise if His Highness is called upon to intervene, to depose the Chairman and appoint another, it may lead to controversies. Before the crisis developed during the last four or five days, I had, as you know, put in my resignation in your hand, and I am simply giving effect to the contents of that letter by sending in my resignation now.

The Executive Board at its meeting may pass a resolution accepting my resignation with regret, and, if necessary, recording its appreciation of the services rendered to the Conference, and, if possible, to the Muslim community. That will be a much better way to end this unfortunate deadlock than the exercise of arbitration. I have not consulted anyone in this but I feel that this is the best course.

Yours affectionately,
Shafa'at Ahmad Khan

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305. 8, Keeling Road, New Delhi.
14 February, 1934
7.30 p.m.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have to leave immediately for Allahabad to resume work there. I had decided to stay on, but I find just now that I am wanted there, as I have already completely availed myself of the leave to which I am entitled.

I have already explained my position in the letter I sent to you this morning. You may deal with it in any manner you like, and announce my resignation in any shape or form. You may deal with the situation in any form that you may deem suitable, and I will obey your decision wholeheartedly.

Yours sincerely,
Shafa'at Ahmad Khan

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306. March 17, 1934

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

I write this brief note to inform you that Sir Shadi Lal will leave here this evening for Delhi. There he will stop at 6, Prithi Raj Road. A few days ago he mentioned to me that he was most anxious to see Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab united. I told him that the only person who can deliver goods on behalf of the Punjab Muslims is yourself, and that, therefore, he should have a talk with you. He said that he will be soon going to Delhi and shall gladly discuss the matter with you. So, if you deem proper you may have a talk with him. He will call on you of course.[1]

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,Kt.,
Education Member, Government of India,
6, King Edward Road, New Delhi.

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1. This was an attempt to bring about a coalition with Shadi Lal, as he had retired, and Fazl-i-Husain was about to retire. Shadi Lal was one man who could have delivered the goods. Shadi Lal did not say anything about it and Fazl-i-Husain was too proud to broach the subject. So the matter remained where it was.
Note by Azim Husain

307. New Delhi,
22nd March, 1934.

My dear Haig,

The paucity or absence of Muslims in the High Court Benches is a long-standing grievance. In that connection, I understand there are going to be, in the near future, vacancies both in Calcutta and Rangoon. In Calcutta, there is Shahid Suhrawardy, an Oxford Graduate and Barrister-at-Law, who is possessed of the necessary qualifications ; and in Rangoon, there is, I understand, Muhammad Auzam, a senior Muslim Barrister, in good practice, available. I trust advantage will be taken of these opportunities to redress this long-standing grievance.

Some days ago, I sent you a note relating [to] Bengal Services. If you have done with it, I shall be glad to have it back.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Member of Council,
New Delhi.

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308. New Delhi,
27th March, 1934.

I understand Sir Abdelkerim Ghuznavi's term of office will soon expire. In case it is decided not to give him an extension, the question of his successor will be engaging your attention. I suppose you will be looking out for a Muslim, but what I wanted to impress upon you most strongly was the need of selecting the best possible Muslim. A man who is not really able and who is not possessed of some influence can do no good to anybody, whether to Government, or to his country or to his community. As you are already aware, the composition of the Services in Bengal is far from satisfactory from the public point of view, and in Muslim circles it is regarded as scandalous. The Bengal Government has, for nearly 30 years, tried to improve matters and would have put matters right if orders alone could achieve the object, but to issue orders is one thing and to see that they are executed is a different thing. In the past, the

Muslim community in India has had occasion to complain that the best available candidates are not always selected, with the result that the object in view, *i.e.*, of putting right long-standing grievances and of demonstrating that Muslims can contribute efficient administrators to the service of the country as well as, if not better than, any other community has not been achieved. There are many men in the public life of Bengal who deserve to be considered. From amongst the M.L.A.'s representing Bengal, there are Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy and Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi. The former has a great reputation as a scholar, and the latter has given proof of strength of character, ability, organising capacity and business acumen. Then there are, amongst M.L.C. 's, several who deserve to be considered. From amongst men with ripe experience, there are Khan Bahadur Md. Abdul Momin, Mawab Musharruf Hosain; whilst among younger men, there are Shahid Suhrawardy, A. F. Rahman and Aziz-ul-Haq. There is also Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who also deserves consideration. As you know them all intimately, you are in the best position to make a selection.

This, however, has nothing to do with the question of giving a short extension to Sir Abdelkerim Ghuznavi. That is a matter for your own consideration.

I am writing to bring to your notice what the Muslim feeling on a subject like this, as a rule, is.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Sir John Anderson, P.C.,
G.C.B., G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.

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309. 6, King Edward Road, New Delhi.
24th April, 1934.

Dear Bhagatji,

Yours of the 19th April.

I very much sympathise with you in your desire to create the

right atmosphere to bring people and institutions and ideals together. Unfortunately, the forces released during the last 50 years or so have been discordant, disturbing and full of defiance to each other. I have been closely watching your efforts during the last 16 years or so, and have great admiration for you and for your perseverance in asking all you happen to come in contact with to be kind and sympathetic and helpful. If success has not been achieved, it is through no fault of yours. It is because the teachings of various religions are forgotten, and that new preachings make for trouble, and the world is full of conflict and disruption. Let us not, however, despair but continue our efforts in this noble cause. I agree with you that Sir Shadi Lal has wonderful scope for doing good. He was the head of the Judiciary of the Province, and now Providence is pleased to place him still higher where he is a part of the highest Judiciary to which the largest area and the largest number of people in the world look for justice.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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310. **Private, Personal & Confidential**

Simla, 9th May, 1934.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 7th May.

1. **Aligarh.**

If it is in the interest of Aligarh to retain Masood, then it is best to persuade the court to appoint him Chairman of the Committee and also to continue the Registrar for another year or two. If, on the other hand, it is not so, then, if Masood is prepared to reconsider his resignation, I suppose the existing arrangements can continue for some time longer. I am entirely ignorant of Aligarh affairs and, therefore, I am not competent to advise. The great danger is—general confusion. In case there is to be no Pro-Vice-Chancellor, then the Vice Chancellor will have to do a great deal of work and of a very responsible nature. It is not easy to find such a

man from amongst the Indian Muslims and, for the matter of that, even from amongst Europeans.

I am in agreement with you that the Aligarh University is not an institution, the Vice-Chancellorship of which yon can accept, hoping thereby to do good either to the University or to yourself. It will only hinder you from other work but you will no doubt guide the Court in acting in a sensible and reasonable manner and not causing loss to the community and the country.

2. **Provincial Conference.**

I think Hafiz Sahib should certainly resign at once and you should choose a good man. I thought you considered Raza Ali as suitable. He might do very well. He has experience and ability.

I am delighted to hear that Ismail and others are willing to attend the meeting of the Executive Board if you request them to do so. I congratulate you on their conciliatory attitude in the matter.

3. I am awfully sorry to hear of your daughter's illness which has brought you to Aligarh. I trust it is nothing serious.

With best wishes for your daughter's speedy recovery,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Nawab Ahmad Saeed of Chattari,
Aligarh.

311.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay, 11th May, 1934.

Dear Fasli Husain,

Many thanks for your letter of the 25th April. Yes, I am very much better now, and hope that I shall be able to sail on the 24th May. I am glad that you approve of the resolution passed by the All India Moslem League. It is a great comfort to me that I have the approval of a man whose judgment I value. I also, when I was in Delhi, was anxious to see you, but on account of my indifferent health at the moment and the pressure of work during the few days

that I was there I was unable to do so. I am glad that you are much better and trust you will be soon quite well.

Thanking you again for your good-wishes for my speedy recovery,

I remain, yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Sir Fasli [*Sic*] Husain, Kt.,
6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.

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312. Simla,
12th May, 1934.

Dear Major Fraser-Tytler,

I am returning the copy of the Colonial Secretary's letter to the Secretary of State, given to me by Mieville.

I am glad to see that the Colonial Secretary realises the gravity of the position. It is a pity that he has answered my note in a controversial spirit. I had not the slightest intention of raising a controversy. In fact, I do not know the Palestine problem first-hand and, therefore, I should not venture to dogmatise. I wish, however, His Excellency would be good enough to impress two points on the Secretary of State or the Colonial Secretary in case he obtains a chance of talking to them on the question of Palestine, and I do hope he will get that chance.

(1) On the merits of the problem :

(a) Area left for Arabs.
It is obvious that the irrigated area is very small, and the best has passed into Jewish hands.

(b) Immigration of Jews, both of professional and labouring classes, does not permit of the Jewish money coming into Palestine being used by Arabs.

(c) Expropriation, even on voluntary basis, is not an institution which has commended itself to modern governments.

(d) It is essential that regular immigration should be stopped pending an investigation whether the saturation point has not already been reached, and irregular immigration should be stopped.

(2) The Indian Muslim feeling that the British Government is treating Palestine Muslims unfairly should not be allowed to gain ground. There is a long tradition of the view that the British policy is anti-Muslim in the world, and in view of the past British interests in Muslim countries and Muslim populations, a large and more statesmanlike view should be taken and no reasonable ground for this old view given. It is of the utmost importance that in India the Khilafat-Congress Union be not revived.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Major W. K. Fraser-Tytler, C.M.G., M.C.,
Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy,
Simla.

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313. 15th May, 1934

My dear Jinnah,

I was very pleased to get yours of the 11th May, saying that you have recovered from your indisposition and that you hope to be strong enough to sail on the 24th. I wish you a complete recovery and the best of health. India and, in particular, Muslim India cannot afford to lose you. Men of clear vision, independent judgment and strength of character are very few, and when one sees efforts made in non-Muslim Indian quarters not to help genuinely Muslim India with a view to secure their co-operation but simply to persuade the Muslim community to entrust its future to them, the need for a strong man of independent judgment, integrity and strength of character becomes apparent and overwhelmingly great.

Indian leaders have, I much regret to say, made a mess of political work in India, and during the last two years or so, English public life has undergone a great change. From this distance, owing to lack of touch and lack of knowledge, I can hardly form an opinion but

you who have been there undoubtedly know that India's case stands a very poor chance in the public life of England to-day. This is no doubt most regrettable, but then what is the alternative? Between the Devil and the Deep Sea, the Muslim community must keep its head. At such crises it is only men of very outstanding ability like yours who can guide the community, and that is why I was very pleased indeed when I found you had given your consent to reorganise the League under your leadership.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bombay.

314.

Oakover,
Naini Tal,
May 26, 1934.

My dear Sir Fazli Husain,

My last letter and the statement must have reached you and I hope you have forwarded it to Rahim Bux with such modifications as you thought fit. I had a talk with the Raja Sahib of Salempur and Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, and I think that the time has come when we can get unity once again among the Mussalmans. Hafiz Hidayat Hussain has agreed, and so has the Raja Sahib of Salempur, that if I call a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference and issue letters to the members of the Working Committees of the Muslim League and the Unity Board they will be good enough to attend. Personally I think it is a good chance of getting unity among us. What do you think of this. Here is a copy of the letter which I sent to Rahim Bux. If you have any objection to the proposal please inform me so that I may send another letter to the Secretary in the light of your suggestions.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Ahmad Said

(of Chhatari)

مالوی جی کے بیان نے مسلمانوں کی آنکھیں کھول دیں
عدو شود سبب خیر گر خدا خواہد ۔

نعیما کو دعا

The Hon'ble
Mian Sir Fazli Husain, KCSI., KCIE.,
Member of Council,
Simla.

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315. The Retreat, Simla
26th May, 1934.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 23rd May.

A meeting of the Executive Board takes time and it is not easy to hold one, but the Working Committee ought to meet oftener and the work should proceed ahead.

Iqbal has made a very good statement to the press, and Hidayat Husain's statement is also good. Similar statements by you and by the Secretary will also do good.

As to the draft you have sent, there is nothing objectionable in it, but it is not so strong as it might have been. I am sending it on to the Secretary as desired by you.

I have seen Haji Abdullah Haroon's letter. I agree with him that all Muslim organisations should take up the attitude that they are strongly opposed to the interpretation of Pandit Malaviya and Ani as to the Congress policy in relation to the Government's decision on the communal question relating to Legislatures. Haji Abdullah Haroon proceeds further and talks of the White Paper. If we say too much about the White Paper, we may be committed to it; and if the Joint Select Committee's Report, instead of improving the White Paper, takes away provisions which, from the Indian point of view were good, then we will be expected to oppose the Joint Select Committee's Report. It is, therefore, premature to lay emphasis on our standing by the White Paper, modified in terms of the joint

representation of Hindu and Muslim members of the Committee which assisted the Joint Select Committee.

As to running the elections, I agree with you that it is better to let each province shift for itself, and those candidates who adopt the Muslim Conference policy or creed should have the support of the provincial conference in each place; and if there are rival candidates both belonging to the Conference school of thought, efforts should be made to reconcile them; and in case those efforts fail, then let them fight it out.

I am returning Haji Abdullah Haroon's letter that you had sent to me.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Nawab Sir M. Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari,
Nainital.

316.

Strictly Confidential.

The Retreat, Simla,
31st May, 1934.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 26th May, enclosing copy of a letter, dated 27th May, to Khan Bahadur Haji Rahim Bakhsh.

So far as the League is concerned, the Working Committees or corresponding institutions of the Conference and the League have met before, and there can be no objection to the same being done again.

The position about the Unity Board is, however, different. The Unity Board claims to have constituted itself more or less on the same principles as the Conference itself, and, as such, it is the duplication of the Conference. When I went into the affairs of the Board in Delhi, the organisers of the Institution wished to be left alone to show what work they could do. It is very satisfactory that in view of Pandit Malaviya's statement, they feel more inclined to work with the Conference than with the Congress. On the whole, it would be better if the Institution passed a Resolution on its own.

In your letter to me you say that you invite the members of the Working Committee of the Muslim League and the Unity Board. Then, will these Working Committees of these two institutions be holding meetings of their own organisations or simply as members co-opted by the Conference for this purpose ? I am afraid you may let yourself in for a great deal of confusion and an enunciation of a position which is not very clear and very definite, while the present emergency demands a statement of policy which is definite, clear and is not hedged in with provisos and conditions.

On the whole, my advice is to welcome the co-operation of the Unity Board only to the extent of the Board passing Resolutions in the same terms or in similar terms as the Conference and not by inviting them as an independent political body to meet the Conference and then go back and remain an independent body. The Unity Board really claims to replace Conference. Therefore, it is possible for the Unity Board to merge itself into the Conference as I desired them to do but the Conference cannot treat it as a necessary Muslim organisation which it invites to hold joint sessions with it.

If in spite of what I have said above you feel that the Muslim cause in India is sure to gain by acknowledging the Unity Board which has not yet functioned at all, I have no objection to your proposal, but you must do it with your eyes open. It may be that the Unity Board promoters feel that in view of the coming elections it is better to mix themselves up with the Conference or they may be generally anxious to co-operate; and I feel in either case it is up to them to join the Conference rather than hold on to the Unity Board.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

317.

2, Faridkot Road,
Lahore.
31st May, 1934.

My Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have just received your registered letter of the 27th May. I

was waiting for a reply to my last letter before circulating your statement for opinion amongst the members of the Working Committee. I think you may issue your statement, as I did without waiting for the opinion of the members of the Working Committee as it is already overdue.

I shall call a meeting of the Working Committee for the 30th June and 1st July at Lucknow if after the receipt of this letter you are still of the same opinion.

The Joint Session will serve no useful purpose. Our position is very clear. We have expressed our point of view so many times. What we require is an active propaganda. It is the Unity Board which has to consider its position. It had resolved to follow the Swaraj Party which has been killed by All-India Congress Committee.

You know that at Delhi at the time of Agha Khan's visit we tried our best to bring round the members of the Unity Board to our point of view but failed.

Syed Zakir Ali's letter which I sent you the other day is a move in the same direction.

They are trying to trap the Muslim Conference in the Unity Board.

Lucknow is a central place but the question is whether people from Sindh, Punjab and Calcutta will come to attend a meeting during this hot weather, especially when there is only a question of a re-declaration of policy. People are waiting for a definite move.

Moreover in a case of Joint Session of the three bodies mentioned by you will there be a decision by a majority of votes of the persons present? How such a decision will be binding on three different Working Committees especially when a majority of members of one working Committee hold a different view.

The Unity Board is going to meet probably on the 15th June. The Assembly members are expected to be present at Simla on the 15th July. Will they care to undertake another journey on the 1st July. A two week's delay will not matter much. A meeting of this

kind at Simla will be well attended and will carry more weight.

Hoping to have an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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318. Simla,
7th June, 1934.

My dear Haig,

Your D. O. No. D. 4002/34-Poll., dated the 30th May, 1934.

I have carefully studied Mr. Hallett's note of the 27th and yours of the 28th May, 1934. Of the statements enclosed, the one of the 18th December 1931 was the same that was prepared by Local Governments and the Government of India when it appeared that the pact was going to be terminated on account of the Congress attitude. Similar allegations were made against the Congress in other Provinces as well.

The point at issue really is not whether a Red Shirt movement is revolutionary or not, but whether the Provincial Congress Committee against which the Notification is not to be withdrawn is a revolutionary body or not, and whether there is sufficient justification for treating this Provincial Congress Committee differently from Provincial Congress Committees, say, in Bombay or Bihar. On this point, I am afraid, I am not able to agree with my Colleagues, and there is nothing more to be done. I am sorry to have put you to this trouble but I wanted to explore the possibilities of my being able to agree with my Colleagues.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Member of Council,
Simla.

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319. 16th June, 1934.

Dear Aga Khan,

I hope you had as successful a tour outside India as you had in

India. I am sure the Indian Muslims derived a great deal of benefit from your visit to India. Now that you are once more settled in England for the next few weeks, it will perhaps be as well to let you know the points on which Indian Muslims' minds are at present engaged. I enclose a typed note containing some points.

Zafrulla must have reached there already, and he will be able to acquaint you with the Punjab people who are taking up their residence in London for the next few years. One cannot be too careful as to developments.

A wave of reactionarism is passing over India, and it is at times like these that the true interest of India as well as the true interest of England demands that one should not be affected by the sad wave but should keep the flag flying for liberalism, self-respect and advance.

Please convey our best wishes to Begam Sahiba.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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320. Simla,
30th June, 1934.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 22nd.

As regards the Central Legislature, in the case of the Lower House, there is no difficulty as separate electorates are provided for Muslims. For the Upper House, there is the same old difficulty which existed before as the Secy. of State insists upon proportional representation with a single transferable vote, and, as in the case of the Upper Chamber in Provinces there is the element of nomination, the calculations become all the more hopeless. In fact, it has to be recognised that it is impossible either to guarantee 33% or even to guarantee 33% in case all Muslims vote for Muslim candidates. But there is no reason why he should not agree to separate electorates

in the case of the Upper House as he has already agreed in the case of the Lower House.

Any effort at going back on H. M. G. 's decision as to the representation of various communities in Legislatures or the separation of Sind will be fatal to the British Government in the future, and I should be very much surprised if they committed such a blunder.

As to your time table, I am afraid the report is not likely to materialise before the end of November, and no one can forecast as to the passing of the Bill but it may not be till December 1935, in which case provincial elections will be in October 1936. This is all unsatisfactory and contrary to British interests, but then I suppose there is such a thing as Providence.

I am glad His Excellency is satisfied with the atmosphere there. We all wish him every success.

Thanks for paying a visit to Brookwood to see that the place is kept in order.

Yes, Azim has done well after one year's study of History considering that he did not study any History during the last five or six years.

Chaudhuri Sahib has been here for four or five days. Their Council meeting is over. From the talk I had with different people from Lahore, it appears that the decision as to my successor is going to be made in London now. I do hope the Secy. of State chooses wisely and that his choice does not give cause for complaint that recently a tendency has been noticed to employ men not distinguished for their ability.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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321. **Strictly Private & Confidential.**

Simla.

9th July 1934.

My dear Aga Khan

Yours of the 29th June.

I am sure you must have been maintaining contact with all the people who are dealing with the reforms problem and count.

You have written at length on the question of the revival of the All-India Muslim League and the harm that it has done. I am afraid I have not been able to follow this statement. You see, the first speech made by Jinnah in April last in the All-India Muslim League meeting was the one for which he was severely taken to task by the Congress press, and the Resolutions passed by the League were practically the same as those passed by the Muslim Conference. Since then, Hafiz Hidayat Husain, who is General Secretary of the League, has given many statements to the press, and every one of them simply restates the position which you adopted as leader of the Muslim Conference, and now you will be glad to hear that both the League and the Conference are meeting at Simla on the 12th of August, and both will pass the same Resolutions. I need hardly add that these Resolutions will be strictly in keeping with the policy which is known as the Conference policy.

You refer to the movement amongst Muslims to reconcile and placate the Hindus. It does exist, and the responsibility for its existence rests with H.M.G. and the British statesmen. In the Joint Select Committee, certain leading statesmen have taken up the point that the communal award should be reopened because it does not meet with the approval of the Hindus. Again, it has been said in some provinces (Punjab and Bengal) that the communal award may be revised because the Hindus are offering such strong resistance to it; and the attitude of H. M. G. in such matters, as you know, is proverbial—that no reliance can be placed upon it, and they may at any moment give way (*e. g.* Bengal partition). Under such circumstances, what more natural for the Muslim community than to feel that although the communal award has been given by H.M. G., they expect the Muslim community to secure the acceptance of it by the Hindus; and if the Muslim community fail to secure it, H. M. G. may turn round and say: 'Well, we did our best for you, but since a very large community is opposed to it and they are creating very severe agitation, we had better revise it.' Had it not been for the Joint Select Committee throwing doubts on the award being final, this movement amongst Muslims either would not have started or would have died down. I think you should make this clear to the

British statesmen and, in particular, to H. M. G. Of one thing I am quite sure that as soon as the Joint Select Committee's Report is out, there won't be a single Hindu in the length and breadth of India who does not join the Congress in condemning it. Liberals and Moderates and all sections will do that. If the Joint Select Committee wish to have this condemnation universal in India, all that they have got to do is to revise the communal award against Muslims and they will succeed in having the whole of India dead against their Report.

You say the Muhammedans should support the White Paper. But, pray, tell me what is the White Paper? If the Joint Select Committee had blessed the White Paper, the Muhammedans could take up the White Paper as their political programme, but how can you expect them to adopt the White Paper as their political programme and as soon as the Joint Select Committee has reported on it, reducing it by, say, 25%, Muhammedans also would say that their programme has undergone a reduction of 25%. H. M. G. do not give Muslims or any other party in India a chance of having a political programme to which they can adhere and also support H. M. G. His Majesty's Government do not know their own mind or, at all events, they devise such machinery to carry out their programme as modifies their programme and stultifies them.

There is one part of your letter which needs action and I shall gladly do what is required—arrange that true views and sentiments of Indian Muslims are communicated to the British Press. I think you have been misled by some one who has communicated absolutely fictitious opinions attributing them to the Indian Muslim League and communicating the same to the British Press.

I hope you will kindly glance again at the note I sent you, and when you see Zafrulla Khan see what can be done about those points.

As regards the constitution of the Upper Federal Chamber, you must insist upon absolutely separate Muslim constituencies or electorates, and advise the Secy. of State to change his mind.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

322. 16th July, 1934

Dear Sikandar,

I hope you are keeping well and have settled down to make the best use possible of your leave.

I am writing this as I saw a report of your statement to the press given in London. Most of it was very good and unexceptional, but towards the end, as reported here, it conveyed ideas which have always invited criticism. The usual thing for a friend to do is to encourage one in what one is doing, but I feel it is the duty of a real friend to tell one what reaction his actions have called forth so that he may know this when considering what to do next.

The appointment of a Christian to take the place of Sir Muhammad Usman, as Home Member, Madras, when he hands over charge as Governor, has created a great deal of dissatisfaction in Muslim circles. I wonder whether any of you has taken the matter up with the Secy. of State. I know Lord Willingdon was keen on having a Muslim when Sir Muhammad Usman retired.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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323. Simla,
16th July, 1934.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 5th July.

I am very glad that you have met His Highness the Aga Khan and you had a talk with him. The Council of the All-India Muslim League is entirely at one with the Conference, and its Secretary, Hafiz Hidayat Husain, is working in the closest collaboration with the Conference office-bearers, *i.e.*, Nawab Sahib of Chhatari and Khan Bahadur Haji Rahim Bakhsh, so much so that the meetings of both these institutions are going to take place in Simla on the 12th August. Since last April, the Muslim League has held meetings of

its Council, and its office-bearers have given statements to the press, and all of them invariably on the lines of the Conference policy. As a matter of fact, the Muslim League is now in a much stronger position than it was before inasmuch as the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, which was a seceder under Maulvi Abdul Karim and others, has returned to the fold and only a few days ago passed a strong resolution in favour of communal award, and the Congress Muslims were never so weak as nowadays. This is but natural inasmuch as the Assembly elections are at hand and they all realise that unless they mend their way, their chances of success at the polls are poor. On the other hand, there are things which may tend to create a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the Muslims. You must have heard that the Madras Membership of Executive Council has been given to an Indian Christian, *i.e.*, the place which was occupied by a Muhammedan since the reforms. This is bound to be resented very naturally, for there is, so far as one can see, no justification for it. There are as many as 7 members of the Madras Government, and a community whose representation on the Legislature is 14% is entitled to be represented by one of its members on the cabinet. Lord Willingdon held this view very strongly, so I do not know under what circumstances the S. of S. has agreed to deprive the Muslims of this place in the Madras Cabinet. You might explain the whole thing to His Highness the Aga Khan and let him broach the subject to the S. of S. This may mean that under the reforms the chances of a Muslim being in the Madras Cabinet are very poor. If the Governor of to-day, when he has absolute power of nominating a member to the Executive Council, will not appoint a Muslim, how can he help the Muslim community in having one of their representatives on the Cabinet when the matter does not rest with him and he has only to use his good offices with the Ministry. In fact, this is a sort of warning to Muslims that the Governor's power under this head is not of much value. If Muslims will not be represented in Madras, they have but little chance of being represented in the Bombay Cabinet when Sind is separated. So there will be Madras, Orissa, Bombay, C. P. and Burma without any Muslim in the Provincial Cabinets, while there will be no province, excepting the

Frontier Province, where Hindus will not be in the Cabinet. Some Muslims may argue that this is so unsatisfactory that it is essential to win the goodwill of the Hindu community, and in time and out of time some British officials in high positions take every opportunity of impressing this on the minds of Muslim leaders. Why they do it, I have not been able to understand. Therefore, if there is a change in the Muslim attitude, it will be as a result of the Government policy and the advice of British officials.

I am glad you have been having a talk with the S. of S. on the points we discussed together.

I am very glad to hear an account of your dinner. It appears to have been an immensely successful function, so much so that the *Hindustan Times* here devoted a cartoon to it. I wish your At Home to Their Excellencies to be equally successful.

I did not know Sikandar had reached London on the 23rd. I understood he was staying in France. Only two or three days ago, a great deal of publicity was given to Sikandar's statement to the press about White Paper and the last part of it saying that the Punjab people reposed a great deal of confidence in the British officials and that he hoped that under the reforms there would be a substantial element of British officials in all Departments, has very naturally aroused disappointment in certain quarters and indignation in others; and some papers have commented that proposals as to his permanent appointment as a Governor are being matured in London. This is, of course, very uncharitable but then critics in anger are seldom charitable. You say he has gone to the Isle of Man. That must be to see Sir Montagu Butler who may be able to put him in the way of meeting some conservative leaders and also putting him in the way of being useful to them. Papers here have given currency to the report that you have been nominated to succeed me. Other papers say that you and Sikandar are having this matter settled by the Viceroy and the S. of S. in London rather than wait for its decision here.

I am glad you are keeping in touch with Azim. Having been with his Cambridge studies, he now is at a difficult stage, being on

his own, not in any definite institution, not having studied some of the subjects he has to take up, he must naturally feel perplexed and not know where to begin. I think it is best that he should enter Davies' Institution for a full course and not mind the heavy fee. As soon as he obtains bibliography of the new subjects from competent coaches, he should address himself to working at them so as to get through them before October, for, during the period he is attending Davies' Establishment, he will barely be able to get through his day-to-day work only in the subjects, lectures of which he can follow.

I spoke to you about the High Commissionership. I believe Mitra's term expires some time in 1935, for he left India, I think, in the middle of 1930, and probably joined his post in October 30. In view of the fact that Muslims have lost a seat in the Cabinet of Bombay, and also in the U. P., and in Assam and now in Madras, it would appear that H. M. G. are definitely withdrawing their support from Muslims. It will not be difficult to find competent Muslims to replace the present incumbent. I count upon H. H. the Aga Khan in making sure that the next incumbent is a Muslim, the present one and his predecessor having been Hindus.

When will you be coming back, early in October or earlier ?

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

324.

Simla,

16th July, 1934.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

It is very good of you to let me know of the situation in England. We are all counting on your persuasion and influence to save His Majesty's Government from failing to take full advantage of the excellent results of your administration during the last three years. I do hope they will make the best possible use of the atmosphere which you have secured for them.

Recently we have been a little bit at cross purposes. As you know, Schuster, during the last few months of his office, was overworked and had taken great pains in convening and presiding over the Provincial Economic Conference, and then in formulating proposals arising out of the discussions in that Conference. Those proposals were considered, in the first instance, by the Economic Committee, and later submitted to the Executive Council where you gave them your blessing and the Council passed them unanimously. One of the proposals related to the transfer of Pusa, and on our recommendation the Secretary of State sanctioned that proposal. When Grigg arrived, the Finance Department Secretariat seem to have given out that these proposals were the result of Schuster's own views and they had not their support. Grigg expressed a view that the sort of capital expenditure involved in the removal of Pusa was justifiable in the view of one set of financiers but that he belonged to the school of financiers who disapproved of it. On the other hand, Sir Frank Noyce and I held the view that the matter about Pusa was considered, discussed and decided, and the Secretary of State's sanction obtained. The fact that Schuster's successor holds views different from those of Schuster does not justify going back on a decision already arrived at and approved by the Secretary of State. In a new matter, if the new Finance Member is able to carry the Council with him, well it is open to him to do so, but he cannot very well say: 'I have now come into office: I hold different views, and, therefore, I want decisions, already arrived at and adopted, abandoned, and their subject-matter reopened. A few days ago, His Excellency Sir George Stanley told me that last week he had written to you on the subject and asked me whether I had any objection to the matter being reopened. I told him frankly that I had the very strongest possible objection to the matter being reopened; that you were a party to the Pusa transfer decision; that you were definitely for it; and that he had no cause to assume that you had changed your mind; that, on the other hand, he should assume that you hold the view now that you held a few weeks ago when you and your Government arrived at that decision; and further that if any one wanted that decision to be reconsidered, he should state in writing the grounds on which he wanted a recon-

sideration, and that then I should be able to state whether those grounds were, in my opinion, grounds for reconsideration or not. I am quite clear that the Secretary in a Department cannot have a matter reopened. It is open to him, when the matter was first under discussion, to approach the Governor-General with his views in case his views differed from the views of his Member; but if he did not avail himself of that opportunity and his Member retired, he cannot afterwards ask that the matter be reconsidered. As to a new Member, he is responsible only with reference to the decisions arrived at after his appointment. I am glad His Excellency Sir George Stanley accepted the correctness of my contention and said that the matter must now go to the Standing Finance Committee. I thought I might tell you this little controversy that had arisen about Pusa.

You say: ask Grigg to open the strings of the purse. Well, I find him terribly stingy and miserly. I suppose, after a few skirmishes, we shall be able to understand each other better, but at present he absolutely refuses to incur any capital expenditure and is ostentatiously and violently opposed to the scheme of work which Schuster initiated last year. We are carrying on and looking forward to your return so as to arrive at a satisfactory understanding.

In the matter of forth-coming elections, communal award has assumed quite an importance of its own. The Hindu Maha Sabha's violent attack on it and the attitude of the Congress in neither condemning it nor blessing it, have disappointed the Muslims, and they stand united today to a much greater extent than they did before. This is satisfactory. If there are any more attacks on the communal award, Muslims may be ready to support the White Paper with enthusiasm. There is, however, one thing which has created a great deal of dissatisfaction amongst Muslims, and that is the recent announcement that the membership of Sir Muhammad Usman in Madras will not go to a Muslim. This means that in the Madras Cabinet there will be no Muslim. If under the present regime Muslim interests can remain unrepresented in the Madras Cabinet of 8, what guarantee is there that under the reforms, in Madras, Bombay and C. P., there is any chance of a Muslim finding a place in the Cabinet unless it be

through the goodwill and generosity of the Hindus. I see a great deal of danger in this, and it will be a great pity if this happened to develop into a grievance.

I believe you remember that I mentioned to you the case of the High Commissionership for India. No Muslim has yet been appointed to this office and I submitted to you that the next incumbent should be a Muslim. You promised to take up the matter with the Secretary of State. May I hope that you will find time to do so now that you are there ?

Her Excellency is very much missed by every body and we are all looking forward to her safer return. Simla does not seem to be the same place without her.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain.

H.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Willingdon, P.C. GMSI, GMIE, GCMG, OBE,
5, Lygone Place, Grosvenor Gardens, London, W.I.

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325. Simla,
23rd July, 1934.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

I am much obliged to you for finding time to let me have some news from London.

The Aligarh situation is still uncertain, but it can wait till your return and till the return of the Chancellor. I am studying the situation and I have found it to be much more complicated than I had anticipated. It must, therefore, await your return.

The All-India Crop Planning Conference has done good and, the proceedings are being distributed all over India. Interest in economic matters is on the increase; and if we only play up, it should hold the public attention for some time.

I am afraid we are having a sort of wrangle about Pusa. Grigg's Secretariat are violently opposed to the transfer, and efforts have been made to have the matter of transfer of the Research Institute from

Pusa to the neighbourhood of Delhi reopened though the transfer has been approved by the Secretary of State. I consider this very unfair and made my views in this connection clear. The majority of the Finance Committee is for the transfer; a large majority of the Assembly is for the transfer, and yet the matter is dragging on and the thing is assuming the look of a wrangle between the members of Government leading to comment in political circles.

As to the Medical Council, the matter was composed satisfactorily; and although the politically minded dissenters in the Medical Council have been carrying on a pretty strong agitation in the public press, it has already died down and I think we will have our way.

There is a great deal of restlessness in the country on account of the undue delay in the matter of the Report of the Joint Paliamentary Committee. I suppose it cannot be helped, and we will have to wait for it for a long time.

I am very glad indeed that Zafrulla is there, but he is not finding it easy to convince the Secretary of State that the latter's attitude towards the Muslim view as to the mode of constituting the Upper Central Chamber is not right. I am not surprised at it because the unanimous recommendations of the Government of India seem to make no impression on him in this matter. I wonder whether you have had an opportunity of taking up this point with him.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Lord Willingdon, Viceroy.
(in London on leave)

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326. The Retreat, Simla,
23rd July, 1934.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 13th inst.

As regards the Upper Chamber, in the case of provinces where there were colleges of electors, I understood there the election was by

separate electorates and within each separate electorate by a single transferable vote ; so if they are enforcing joint electorates in that case they are encroaching further upon Government's commitment to Muslims. It is a pity that they are so obdurate and Muslims cannot but treat this as a thin end of the wedge, and to that extent a breach of faith. The Congress also wants Muslims to agree to a thin end of the wedge but the Muslims have been repulsing their advances on the ground that the thin end of the wedge to-day means a full wedge to-morrow.

As to Sir A. Chamberlain's principle,—what about the Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians ? I suppose they are above these principles.

As to my successor, I do not believe there is any occasion for a talk about it till some time in the cold weather, but then some of the candidates are so anxious and so hasty that they want to have their future settled forth-with.

In view of the coming in of the vacations next week, I suppose the London activities become very slack and will not be revived till next October, and the Indian question may be said to be more or less put away for the next three months.

You have told me nothing about Sir Shadi Lal. I saw his picture coming from the Privy Council. Where is he living ? Has he his family with him ? How is he enjoying himself ?

Any information as to the High Commissioner for India ? When does his term expire ? Is he likely to take leave and retire earlier or does he wish to stay longer and try for an extension ? Has the S. of S. thought of trying a Muslim in that place, considering that no Muslim has occupied that office until now ?

I understand the New Chief Justice from Lahore and Agha Hyder have gone to London. I daresay you will come across them.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

327.

23rd July, 1934.

Private & confidential.

My dear Aga Khan,

I hope your complaint about the correct Muslim view not being sent to the British press will be fully redressed. We are all very grateful to you for informing us that somebody was misrepresenting things on the sly.

I enclose a note showing the points which need attention.

With best wishes for Begam Aga Khan from me, my wife and the girls,

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

The Right Hon'ble His Highness Aga Sultan Sir Muhammad Shah,
Aga Khan, P. C., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O.,
Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly,
L o n d o n.

Points which need being taken up :

1. Mode of election to the Upper Federal House should be by separate electorates and not by joint electorates with proportional representation.
2. Indian Medical Council: Provision as to when Indian and British Medical Councils disagree, to whom should the appeal lie? —To the Privy Council on which Privy Councillors *with judicial experience* sit.
3. On the expiry of the term of the present High Commissioner for India, an Indian Muslim be appointed.

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328.

28th July, 1934.

Dear Zafrulla,

I was delighted to read what a successful 'At Home' yours was.

I suppose the session is now about to expire, and the next two months will be, so far as the Indian reforms are concerned, rather slow.

Schuster's successor, Grigg, is keeping us pretty busy. He seems to be violently opposed to almost everything that Schuster stood for and wants to abandon Schuster's policy and start his own. This is not unnatural in case his own views are different from those of his predecessors, but he wants to go one better: not only does he condemn the decisions that were taken during Schuster's time but he wants those decisions upset. I know of one case in which I am involved, and there in the unanimous recommendation of the Government of India was accepted by the Secretary of State, and he now wants that decision upset. This relates to the case of the transfer of the Agricultural Research Institute from Pusa. This transfer came about in consequence of the earthquake which involved a heavy expenditure of 9 lakhs of rupees on putting the buildings at Pusa right. The scheme of a new Pusa meant an expenditure of from 35 to 40 lakhs. Schuster forecasted this in his Budget speech of the 27th February, 1934, stressing the point that although ratio could not be altered and currency could not be inflated, still Government had undertaken to initiate capital expenditure which will stimulate purchasing power to a certain extent; and that for this purpose the Delhi capital project had been re-opened, the Bihar earth-quake rebuilding programme laid out and ban on capital expenditure had also been removed. It was in pursuance of this policy of capital expenditure on public works, tending to stimulate purchasing power and thus give a little help to economic recovery, that he made out a very modest programme. It was admitted on all hands that a central Agricultural Research Institute, situated at Pusa, failed to achieve its full practical value on account of its remoteness and inaccessibility.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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329. Simla.
July 31st, 1934.

Member of Council
for Education, Health & Land,
India.

My dear Sir Malcolm,

I have to appoint once again, an Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, as Sir Maharaj Singh will be returning next January. I have had in mind Sir Wazir Hasan for some time, but during the course of the last few months a number of people from U. P. have spoken to me very disparagingly about him, stating that he is far from popular; that, in fact, he is unpopular. The information I was able to elicit from these persons, when questioned, was that it was so on account of the last few years of his service. Under the circumstances, I felt I might approach you for enlightenment.

Since the inception of the post, there have been three Agents: Sastri, Sir Kurma Reddi, and Sir Maharaj Singh. I should, therefore, like to select a suitable Muslim. Can you help me with advice?[1]

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of U.P.

August 3rd, 1934.

1. Dear Sir George,

I feel that I must send you a copy of the enclosed letter which has placed me in some difficulty. I should of course have been prepared to answer it frankly if it had come from you; but I have a somewhat unfortunate experience of the way in which opinions about persons, which should be kept strictly confidential, have at times been used elsewhere. I have answered Sir Fazl-i-Husain, telling him the facts about late Chief Judge. He is a man of very considerable legal ability who once took a prominent part in Muslim politics. It is however the fact that of late years he aroused a number of animosities in Lucknow and they were not entirely unjustified. It was indeed on

330. The Retreat,
Simla.
10 September, 1934

Dear Shahabuddin,

Why bother about lunch five weeks ahead ? My movements in the Punjab are very uncertain, and I do not like the idea of friends being asked to come specially to meet me. It savours too much like efforts at forming parties and I have no wish to indulge in that pastime.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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the ground that these animosities had affected the work and position of the Chief Court, that the Governor-General in Council decided to bring in an outside Judge from Allahabad to preside over the Chief Court when Sir Wazir Hasan retired. These facts are so well known at Simla and Delhi that I hardly think that Sir Fazl-i-Husain needed an opinion from me on the subject; and I cannot very well understand the reason for addressing me.

I am myself certainly of opinion that if a really representative Muslim is to be chosen there are some objections to Sir Wazir Hasan in spite of his ability. I am at some difficulty in suggesting any other name from this province. Sir Abdus Samad Khan of Rampur has certainly all the social qualities desired, but he is not a man of outstanding ability in other ways. Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan who would be very well fitted in point of position and character might not perhaps agree to undertake the work, as he has aspirations in local politics. I think Sir Ross Masood would be very suitable in point of ability, and he is a cosmopolitan who could not fail to get on well with Africans. He would be an excellent choice, though I should prefer to be certain as to the state of his health; he has gone to Europe to recover it. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan informs me that Sir Fazl-i-Husain on two occasions "offered" him the post; but though I think that he has been very useful to the Muslims in the Round Table Conference and otherwise, he is not a man of much personal presence or status. In answering Sir Fazl-i-Husain I have not discussed these names.

Yours sincerely,
W. M. Hailey

His Excellency The Right Hon.
Sir George Stanley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G.,
[Acting] Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

331. 12th September, 1934.

Dear Rajan Bakhsh,

Yours of the 11th. I am very glad to hear that you are much better.

All these reports in the public press about extension, &c., are altogether unfounded, and the reports about the selection of my successor are also unfounded.

As regards Syed Zainulabdin Sahib and his views and the views of the public,—as you know, if I had followed the views of others, I would not have been able to render any service to the Muslim community. Therefore, it is for the Indian Mussalmans to decide whether they consider my judgment in the best interest of the Muslims, or consider the views of the sectarian fanatics, many of them moved by personal considerations, should be followed. You cannot be unaware that the Muslim opinion in Multan City was that compulsory primary education was an interference with religion and contrary to Shariat. I was not prepared to accept that view.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Khan Bahadur Syed Rajan Bakhsh Sahib, M. L. A.,
President Municipality, Inside Pak Gate,
Multan City.

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332. The Retreat, Simla,
24th September, 1934.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 14th September.

Well, you will soon be here and know all about this agitation. It is based on, what you call, the score of religious doctrine, but the moving spirit is that this unity of doctrine with other Ahmadis makes one partial to them and help them against non-Ahmadi Muslims. They actually stated to, firstly, that a number of such men were appointed in 1932, though temporarily; secondly, that the position is abused by Ahmadi preachers in doing propaganda amongst

Muslims of converting Muslims to the Ahmadi creed on account of this position; thirdly, that it gives a general prestige to a sect which one should try to suppress rather than encourage: for instance, your visit to Qadian in 1932.

In fact, they have turned their attention to me saying that my having been for a long time in office had made me irresponsible to Muslim opinion and that I have assumed a dictatorial attitude. However, I believe decision has been arrived at, but I am, by no means, sure that the opposition will die down on the announcement being made. It will revive a bit. I will see what can be done to counteract that revival. Later, it will be for you to consider what steps are necessary to reassure the Muslims on the points mentioned above and on some others.

Curiously enough, this doctrine business was the one which I discussed with Mirza Sahib a day or two before his death in Lahore and the impression left on my mind was that he was fully cognisant of the importance of Muslim unity, and was strongly opposed to disruption. I have never had an opportunity of mentioning this subject to the present Mirza Sahib.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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333. The Retreat, Simla,
25th September, 1934.

My dear Shahab-ud-din,

Yours of the 25th inst.

After giving certain information, you proceed to say:

"Early steps should be taken to stop any further spread of mischief, especially when cohesion and unity in our own camp is not very certain".

I am in receipt of this advice.

You assume that you are not personally interested in either affair; that both these affairs are my personal affair and that you

are doing me a great favour by giving me this advice. Am I not entitled to know what you have done in order to stop any further spread of mischief, and what measures you have taken to maintain cohesion and unity in our own camp ? If each one of my friends is ready to help me only to the extent of his own individual matter, naturally my utility to you all is very much reduced. Without the help of you all, or, at all events, of most of you, what use can I be? Therefore, I must say your letter has mystified me, and, may I add?, disappointed me. A man of your experience and clear thinking, should have matured certain plans to be put into force, or certain actions taken to put a stop to any further advance of mischief.

I have not been very well for the last few days, and this is, perhaps, one reason why I have told you how your letter has struck me.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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334. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, October 1, 1934.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Last evening, on my arrival here, I read your letter of 29th September. I have tried to gauge the situation about K. B. Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh. It is as follows :

1. No organized propaganda is being done on his behalf. No meetings, worth the name, have been held up till now.
2. All riff-raffs of Lahore are with Gauba. Hardly a single one of them is a voter for the Assembly; but most of them are voters for Municipal elections, which are taking place, unfortunately, immediately after the Assembly elections. The result of this is that no Muslim candidate for the Municipal election or his supporters have the courage to support the Shaikh Sahib. In other words, the candidates for Municipal elections and their respective supporters are so much afraid of the sympathy and support, which the riff-raffs express for Gauba, that they dare not say a word in

favour of Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh. The only persons who are working openly for the Shaikh Sahib are two sitting Municipal Commissioners, who are not standing for the Municipal elections again. One of these is Firoze's man; while the other is my man.

3. Yesterday on my way down to Lahore some Muslim gentlemen met me at Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Batala and I was surprised to find that all of them were the staunchest supporters of Gauba, who, they said, had been to almost every town and big village in the Gurdaspur district.

4. The most disquieting thing is that every young Muslim in Government Service, from an ordinary Clerk to an E. A. C., is working for Gauba.

5. I understand that in the Firozpur District, Pir Akbar Ali, in the absence of any definite instructions from Qadian, is working for Gauba; while in Kasur Fazaldin Gora and other influential people are doing a great propaganda for him.

6. The Arains of Batala are working against Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh and the Arains of Sanda Kalan, Bhati Gate and some other Mohallas of Lahore are also working against him.

7. Malik Muhammad Din, M. L. C, is a candidate for the Presidentship of the Lahore Municipal Committee. He promised Firoze that he will help the Shaikh Sahib; but he is trying to have his own nominee elected from every Ward, and, therefore, has not the courage to displease the man in the street who is in favour of Gauba while Mian Abdul Aziz is reported to have openly said at Lyallpur that there was no chance of success for Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh, though his own sympathies were with him.

8. People are heard saying that Gauba should win; because his defeat will be the defeat of Islam ; while the defeat of

Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh will be the defeat of the Muslim Conference only.

9. The Hindu agitation against Gauba is going a long way in his favour in Muslim circles.
10. I have not met Firoze yet, but I understand that he is here and has invited to his house a large number of Muslim residents of Lahore on the 3rd instant.
11. I hear that every Friday Gauba says his Jumma prayers in the Shahi Mosque, Lahore, and his daily prayers turn by turn, in the big Mosques of Lahore, simply to win the good opinion, sympathy and support of the Muslims of Lahore.
12. Outside of Lahore also he follows the same practice and is often taken round in procession.

The above facts speak for themselves. I, for one, see no chance for the Haji Sahib, and, therefore, suggest the following course, which, in my humble opinion, is the only way out of the difficulty :

The Shaikh Sahib should withdraw if Gauba declares from the public platform and through the Press that he is not going to the Assembly on the Ahrar's ticket; but as the representative of the Muslims other than Ahrars. If he declines to make such a declaration, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir Firoze Khan, yourself and other leading Muslims of Lahore, Amritsar and Firozepur etc. should warn the Muslims of the danger ahead. I am sure that in that case our efforts shall have the desired result. The question is a simple one; either the Ahrars win or we. If Gauba cares to go in as our candidate, we should withdraw Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh; but if he insists upon being elected on Ahrar's ticket, we should do our best to put in our own candidate. In short, we should either withdraw the Shaikh Sahib with good grace or leave no stone unturned to get him in. At present the situation is hopeless and no exertions, except on the line suggested by me, shall succeed.

About the other matter, my misgiving may be unfounded.

With all good wishes,

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahabuddin

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335. The Retreat, Simla,
2nd October, 1934.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 1st October.

The suggestion contained in para. 12 of your letter seems to be sound. So you can proceed with it, *i. e.*, "if Gauba declares from the public platform and through the Press that he is not going to the Assembly on the Ahrar's ticket; but as the representative of the Muslims other than Ahrars". I shall be glad to hear whether your offer is acceptable to Gauba or not. This had better be done without delay.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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336. Camp, 39, Empress Road, Lahore,
11th October, 1934.

My dear Azim,

I have read this paper and made certain comments as I ran through it. It is a good attempt at facing the interesting and difficult problems which are so attractive to the inquiring mind. There is a widespread tendency to condemn religion, but those who substitute some other conceptions—be it perfection, be it culture, be it the right or be it the beautiful, don't make much progress in the study of these problems. The movement is more in a circle. It cannot, therefore, be said to be an advance. Religion is no more open to abuse than Hellenic ideals, and one should be careful not to mistake what appears to one to be novel to be also right.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Your papers are sent under a separate Cover.

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337. 27 October 1934.

My dear Sir Herbert,

I told you that Zafrulla was coming to Delhi on the 26th and you asked me to tell him to meet you at his earliest convenience. His aeroplane was delayed by 24 hours and it arrived here only this morning. I had a telegram from Zafrulla saying that he was unable to come to Delhi. So he has apparently proceeded to Lahore. I have, therefore, had no opportunity of mentioning to him that you wanted him to see you.

Since I met you, I have read Mirza Sahib's statement of the case, and have received since then two or three communications from his Secretary. mentioning developments. I think the present dispute does not offer a suitable opportunity for attaining two objectives: firstly, making the Ahmadiya community feel that they are growing aggressive and that they should be made to feel that they resume their position as one of the numerous classes and communities in the province; and, secondly, not allowing "or encouraging Ahrars to gain in strength and enterprise. The pursuit of the dual policy is likely to lead to the following results: encouragement of Ahrars and discouragement of Ahmadis, thus developing a situation wherein the friends grow weaker and the opponents grow stronger. The suitable policy to adopt would be to act firmly in the matter and deal strictly with the aggression of Ahrars against Ahmadis, and put an end to it ; and then, after a suitable pause, to proceed to deal with the Ahmadis locally so that they do not develop the aggressive mentality against others who live with them or near them. Trying to achieve the two objects at one blow seems to me unsound and unlikely to succeed.

I have thought over the matter and have arrived at the conclusion given above, and am sending it on to you as you were occupied in dealing with the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

H.E. Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of Punjab,
Lahore.

Private & confidential.

338. 6, King Edward Road, New Delhi,
30th October, 1934.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Please note very carefully that you are not to talk to His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab about my being available for Revenue Membership in the Punjab on the expiry of Sikandar's term. I do not wish my name mentioned to him in this connection by you or by anybody else. If I wanted him to consider my name, I could do so by asking him myself. I trust none of my friends will go contrary to my wishes, and if any one does so, it will appear that his real object is to hurt me and not to help me. You and every one else are free to try for themselves and for their friends, but I do not wish my name to be used in this connection. Moreover, I do not wish to take part in promoting the cause of any individual candidate or in prejudicing the cause of any candidate. Sikandar and I felt that there would be too many candidates in the field, but that any effort made to reduce their number would only result in increasing it.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Private & personal.

339. New Delhi,
2nd November, 1934.

Dear Shahabuddin,

Did you see that Kanwar Jagdish Prasad wes congratulated by the U. P. Legislative Council at one of its sittings on his appointment to the Governor-General's Council? I have not seen a corresponding incident taking place in your Council. Is it that Zafrulla has not attending [*sic*] the meetings, or is there any other reason ?

Again, I saw that there was a talk of Muslim members of the Legislature refusing to have a congratulatory function on his appointment. They had one at the time he was appointed to officiate for me and you all took part in it. In view of all the circumstances, don't you think some function is called for ? Far be it from me to take

upon myself to advise you as to the propriety of things, especially when what is right may be in conflict with personal interest of individual friends, but it was a point to which I felt it was worth while to invite your attention. I should like you to consult Sikandar and Feroze about it and show them this letter to save me from writing to them separately, and do what you think is right and is not likely to injure you jointly or severally.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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340. New Delhi,
8th November, 1934.

My dear Sikandar,

Thanks for yours of the 7th about Saifullah and Hamid.

As regards your letter of the 4th, you ask me whether there is any objection to your mentioning the possibility of my taking your place to avoid certain troubles.

You see, this is just the same as asking for my appointment. Only it is an indirect way of doing the same thing, which I feel should not be done. Having gone over the whole matter once more, I have come to the conclusion, *i. e.*, that neither directly or indirectly should my name be suggested in this connection. I shall feel grateful if my wishes are respected in this matter.

As to the future of the province for which we have worked and worked hard, there is a very natural and human tendency to glorify the past and to look with gloomy apprehensions at the future. I am taking account of this very natural tendency, but frankly, I do not feel too hopeful about the future. Somehow, it seems that the atmosphere has deteriorated. It is nobody's fault, I am sure; but facts are facts. In the case of officials, one is inclined to think that those of the past were giants, and those that are now are only human beings, and those of the future are likely to be pygmies. Still, it will be readily recognised that Fagan and King were not loved, and may be, were not even liked, generally speaking; but there will be few

who will deny that they knew their jobs rather well. However, the trend of events, the general atmosphere, the attitude of mind, official and non-official,—the material available, so far as one can judge at present,—are none too encouraging for one who has worked, seen workers, and feel none too strong to mould circumstances and events to suit the dictates of his will. My pessimism may be entirely due to my low vitality. I wish with all my heart that it were so.

The usual attractions of power, prestige and authority do not appeal to me. Probably, what has been attracting me has been work; and, therefore, in abstaining from entering upon a venture like this, I will not be denying myself anything for which my soul may be craving.

Ramchandra told me yesterday that you intended coming here in a day or two. When is it to be? I hope you will let me know.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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341. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
10th November, 1934.

My dear Azim,

Yours of the 2nd November.

You ask for a brief, general comment on your paper. It is this :

The generally accepted view about religion may be open to criticism in more ways than one, but the view advocated or suggested in the paper was not free from criticism, and, in fact, was open to the same criticism as the philosophic view of those who stand for the generally accepted form of religion that the use of new phraseology did not import new ideas. Undoubtedly, the essence of religion is quite different from the ceremonial of religion, and the two should not be mixed up. The ceremonial of religion may be treated like the

exercises which precede the study of any branch of human thought. If Mathematics, Science, Literature, Languages need drilling through exercises, why not Theism, or Religion need the same ? Admittedly, human beings differ widely in intelligence and application, and necessarily they could not all be given the same form or stage of religion. Religion, like many other things, is essentially a personal matter; perhaps, more so than any other phase of human thought. After all, does it not come to this?—We are free because we feel we are free. We must have religion because we feel the need of religion. The critic may very rightly pull the argument, in either case, to pieces.

You ask me for a more direct guidance. In two or three lines lower down, you say you are quite ignorant of your father as you have always had decisions and not opinions; a final word and not suggestion. Don't you see the contradiction in the two positions ? I thought your complaint was that I let you have your way and did not force you to do certain things or did not insist upon my views being carried out. Both cannot be right. Now which one is it that you feel is your real grievance? On my part, I adopted what I thought was the policy of *laissez faire*, feeling that we were living in the times of individualism 30 years or so ago. I wanted each one of you to have your way, and I am not sorry for it, because, after all a very strong and strict discipline may show good results in the beginning but is likely to give.

Again, there are aspects of one's ideas, thoughts and feelings which cannot be conveyed by language and which cannot be received, understood or adopted by others unless their mind is attuned for such reception, understanding or adoption.

As regards religion, a child grows in a society what with heredity, bringing up in society and family he grows in an atmosphere wherein certain aptitudes exist, they are there. What is called freedom of thought inculcated in modern educational institutions is nothing else but a reflection of certain conceptions of so-called independence of thought which in its turn becomes a sort of mental slavery. A devotion to pagan ideals is but a form of religion. High-ground discipline controlling Roman Catholic creed is no more a slavery

than the creed of free thought, the fromer acts at forms of physical manifestations of slavery while the other has subtle forms of slavery itself.

Then you put me a question—Does science contradict the precepts of religion? You see you have not studied meta-physics or history of philosophy. When you have finished your exam. and feel inclined to extend the scope of your information and knowledge and read this fascinating branch of knowledge you will find there is not a very strong foundation for a physical test as the touchstone of knowledge. There have been men of very superior intellectual attainments who have taken up the task of reconciling science and religion. At the outset one is faced with the difficulty of defining religion, separating the dogma from religion. The subject constitutes a science by itself. Personally, I do not attach any very great value to it. This subject is a vast one and I better not pursue it any further.

London fog is horrible but I trust you will soon be getting rid of it by going to a nice place for your vacation. Your mother came here yesterday and encloses a letter for you.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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342. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
3rd December, 1934.

My dear Azim,

Yours of the 23rd November. I note your desire. My idea is that as you gain experience you will realise that any individual, however successful, well informed or even gifted he may be, he is but an individual in a society of millions, and in almost every respect intellectual, religious, spiritual, worldly—there are hundreds and thousands of men of distinction and excellence and no one can really feel so self-important as to consider himself of any great account. The question then arises to what extent it is right for one without

having specialised in a matter to take upon oneself to lay down the law, especially in the case of one's own children so as to impress them and thus to make their youthful mind more or less adopt his own views. If they on study and enquiry arrive at the views that he has it is very gratifying to him but to have drilled them into those views is the act of the tyrant or of one who has very high and exalted notion of his views and ideas.

Oh, yes, the work at the Davies' must be enormous; in fact, overwhelming, The great thing is to do all that you can but not to allow the work to have the better of you and to make you work beyond your strength as that is the surest way of wasting your energy. If you find the work too much, drop a part of it rather than allow the whole of it to become confused.

I am glad you met Sir John Megaw. I had a letter from Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and he spoke very highly of you.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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343.
Home Member of Council,

New Delhi,
8th December 1934.

Dear Sir Fazli,

Hallett showed me your note of the 6th December suggesting that it should be considered whether the notifications against Congress organisations which are still maintained in the N. W. F. P. might now be cancelled. The note also suggested as another point for consideration the maintenance or cancellation of the orders of externment passed against Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother.

I mentioned your suggestion to His Excellency today and he agreed with me that the present would not be a suitable time to take up the consideration of either of these questions. We have very little doubt that the local Government would be strongly opposed to the withdrawal of the notifications against Congress organisations at the moment. As regards the externment orders, you have doubtless seen in the newspapers that Abdul Ghaffar Khan is being prosecuted for a seditious speech recently delivered in Bombay. His Excellency

agreed with me that it would be better to await the result of this prosecution before reconsidering the question of the externment orders.

Yonrs sincerely,
Henry D. Craik

The Hon. K. B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Member of Council

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344. New Delhi,
24th December, 1934.

Dear Lord Halifax,

Thanks awfully for your very kind letter of the 5th, and for your very best wishes for Christmas and the New Year which I most sincerely reciprocate.

I noticed from the Parliamentary debates received by the last Air Mail, that you were not looking very well, and that at the time of the debate your health was not so good as your friends would like it to be. This was the first intimation of your not being well that I had, if I have understood it aright, and I do hope this was due to some temporary indisposition and that you are quite well now.

As to the Joint Select Committee's Report, yes, I have noticed that it has had a good reception in England due, no doubt, to careful propaganda done in its behalf, and you are quite right in thinking that the adhesion of the people like Austin, Derby, Zetland and Hardinge must have had a good effect.

As regards India, the Joint Select Committee's Report has not received such severe handling as one might have anticipated. The White Paper was more severely criticised than the Report, although admittedly the Report is, from the Indian point of view, much more unfavourable than the white Paper. The difference is due to the White Paper having been the first blow and the public mind in November being in a fit of despondency rather than in expectant buoyancy.

The Report did not strike them as so very much worse than the White Paper itself. Then there is the very welcome confusion of ideas as to the merits of the Report and as to what is to be done with the outcome of the Report. The question has been raised : What is to happen now ? The inquiry started in 1929, we are running into 1935. Since 1930, every step taken has lowered the chances of national demand being met. The constituent Assembly idea has fallen entirely flat. Just now, the public mind is in favour of utilising the Legislatures for all that they are worth. This was the basic idea of the Montague reforms. If the new Bill could in some miraculous way be enacted in the course of 1935 and elections take place in November 1935, the chances of any large section holding out against working new reforms would be very poor, but what may happen if there is an interval of another year, it is difficult to forecast. The Congress has been done now for nearly two years, and strangely enough there are signs here and there of a certain amount of sympathy for it and every manifestation of strength now on the side of Government is likely to develop its feeling of sympathy for the under dog. This is how the wheel of Indian politics goes round and round. The top dog for the time being, be it the Congress or Government, in spite of repeated experiences, does not believe that the wheel is run and that it does go round. Recent prosecutions for sedition and the sentences awarded show perhaps an inclination to demonstrate strength rather than meet the needs of administration.

As regards provincial Legislatures, they have already discussed the Report, and the feeling is that it is far below their demand, but that there is no question of rejecting it or not working the reforms. This is the right Constitutional position and if I may say so the inevitable course for an Indian to adopt. In fact those who take an imported view of the problem cannot but testify to this being the correct attitude to adopt.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

(Lord Halifax—formerly Lord Irwin)

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345.

Minister of Agriculture, Lahore,
Punjab Government. 5th February 1935.

My dear Sir Fazli,

The publication of the India Bill seems to have awakened a certain amount of interest in our old formula of communal settlement, and I thought I might write and ask you whether you would be prepared to meet people on two or three objections that had been raised. I think these objections are capable of settlement.

1. The Sikhs objected to any differentiation in franchise. I am sure you will also agree that by any manipulation of the franchise it is not possible to get the population exactly represented in the electorate. Would it be acceptable to you if it is proposed that "in any constituency in which the population of any community is not fully represented, the adult members of that community will have the right to nominate sufficient number of electors to make up the deficiency".
2. The Hindus, on the other hand, objected that if constituencies are reserved, in any constituency which is reserved for the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims will not have the right to vote for a member of their own community. Would it be acceptable if it was agreed that in joint electorates wherever there is a Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh constituency, the electors will vote in all the three constituencies.
3. There are two or three Sikh constituencies, such as Rawalpindi, in which a special provision will have to be made that Sikh electors in the whole of that division may vote in that constituency instead of being bounded by the constituency itself.

I thought I might just mention it to you before beginning discussions.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

346.
Confidential

D. O.
Govt. of India
Home Department
New Delhi,
6th February, 1935

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

With reference to your note of the 5th instant, I am sending you a copy of our file dealing with the question of the Instrument of Instructions regarding special responsibility for securing a fair proportion of appointments in the public services to the various minority communities. To facilitate the consideration of this point I note the following points. In his express letter of the 27th October 1933 the Secretary of State suggested that the Instructions should be in the following form :

"In relation to your special responsibility for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities you shall, *inter alia*, have regard to the securing of a fair proportion of appointments in the public services to the various minority communities. In this matter you should, in general, be guided by the recognised policy hitherto in force in your province. Modifications of such policy should be such only as are either required to satisfy the legitimate interests of minority communities, or are generally accepted by all communities affected, or are essential to prevent grave deterioration of any public service".

2. This suggestion was sent out to local Governments and I invite attention in particular to the opinion of the Punjab Government received in their letter of the 27th November 1933. They took the view that "Any more explicit definition of this responsibility in the Instrument of Instructions is likely to add to the difficulties of the Governor, for the more closely his responsibilities are defined the more difficult it is likely to be for him to discharge them without a constitutional crisis. If, however, it is considered necessary to include any such instructions, then it appears desirable, first, that the instructions should not be so drafted as to suggest that the initiative for modification in existing practice that ordinarily proceed from the

Governor; secondly, that it should be made clear that the Governor should not be requited to interfere with modifications in existing practice which may be proposed in order to redress the reasonable grievances of the majority community, provided the modifications do no prejudice the legitimate interests of any minority community; and, thirdly, that any modifications that may be made should not prejudicially affect the legitimate interests of existing members of the services". The Punjab Government then suggested a draft which appeared somewhat unduly complicated. I examined the whole question in my notes of 20-12-33 and 31-12-33, and these were circulated to all Hon'ble Members with the Minute which had been recorded by the Hon'ble Member, E. H. & L. and it was discussed in Calcutta at the beginning of January. As a result of this discussion we telegraphed to the Secretary of State on the 19th of January 1934, pointing out that it was not possible to give a final opinion on the proposed addition to the Instrument of Instructions, "which presupposes that the existing system is satisfactory". We made certain general comments :

(a) that many local Governments merely adhere to certain wide general principles,

(b) quoting the Punjab Government, the development in that province and possibly in other provinces where Muslims are in a majority would be in the direction of the majority community getting more posts and the minority communities less, and the Governor must not be debarred from agreeing to such a development. The Punjab Government have attempted to redraft to make this clear, but we feel that this draft is over elaborate and obscure; it examplifies the difficulty of making the instruction explicit,

(c) the reference to modifications which are essential to prevent a grave deterioration of the public services is liable to be interpreted as an extension of the powers of a Governor, and might give rise to criticism.

At the same time we wrote to local Governments in our express letter of the 28th January 1934, pointing out that all local Governments

considered the existing system satisfactory and "is such as to enable the new regime to start off as well as possible. An examination of such statistics as are available shows that in the Punjab and Bengal in which the Muslim population is in a majority, they are in a minority in almost all the departments of the public service; in provinces in which they are in minority their representation is generally in excess of their population ratio, except in the technical services. The composition of a service is of course no guide to the existing rates of recruitment, but Government of India think that in certain provinces recruitment of Muslims is at present lower than circumstances would justify and that the existing system of recruitment may not secure for them a reasonable degree of representation." We suggested that "though the present somewhat indefinite systems may be satisfactory under existing conditions, yet under the new constitution if the systems are vague and indefinite, it may give rise to serious friction. If, as contemplated by the Secretary of State, the present systems of recruitment are stabilised, it will be resented by the Muslim community in those provinces in which their recruitment is below their population ratio." I again invite attention to the Punjab Government's reply dated the 14th of February, 1934, in para. 4 of which they raised the difficulties of fixing definite percentages pointing out that "There have been conversations on the subject between leading men in the province from time to time, and it is not improbable that agreement may be ultimately reached between the communities. The question is moreover complicated in this province by the conflict of rural and urban interests. While, therefore, the local Government are prepared to give the most careful consideration to any agreement between the communities on the lines indicated, they are not prepared at this stage to introduce a drastic change in the existing system which would be in advance of the consent of all communities, and could not fail to rouse strong communal feeling." The opinions of all local Governments were quoted in our telegram to the Secretary of State, dated the 26th February 1934, and we stated that these opinions confirmed us in the view that local Governments must be given a free hand and that it would be open to strong objection to force them to adopt a more

definite system. Our final view was that any addition to the Instrument of Instructions should merely consist of the first sentence of the original draft of the Secretary of State. We added also that the formula proposed may not be held to meet the case of those provinces in which Muslims are not a minority community, and we suggested that for these provinces the Instrument of Instructions should be so drafted as to make it clear that the Governor should take steps to protect the Muslim interests in the matter of appointments as well the interests of minority communities.

3. I venture to think that the draft Instrument of Instructions now received meets this point, for it will be seen that the first part of para. XII does not refer to minority communities but to communities for members of which special representation is accorded in Federal Legislature. The remaining portion of the draft, it is true, contains a reference to the existing practice, but enables changes to be made in the interests of the communities affected. It is thus on the whole pretty general and meets, I think, the case both of the majority and minority Muslim provinces.

Yours sincerely,
Maurice G Hallett

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt.,
Member-in-charge E.H. & L. Department.

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347. 7th February 1935

My dear Sir Jogendra Singh,

Yours of the 5th. These are the points which have been discussed threadbare over and over again and I have no wish after my experience at Simla to reopen the matter which you and other Hindu and Sikh friends assured me then was finally settled and closed.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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348. New Delhi,
8th February 1935.

My dear Mieville,

Will you kindly place this before His Excellency?

After the constitution of legislatures under reforms the question relating to the services has been one to which the Muslim community have attached the greatest possible importance. At one time hopes were entertained that suitable provision for it will be found in the statute. Then as an alternative it was thought that it would be best to issue instructions before the introduction of reforms and refer to them in the Instrument of Instructions. Both these alternatives have been refused to the Muslim community. Now we have the third alternative, *i.e.*, protections afforded through the Instrument of Instructions the draft of which I have seen recently. Now this draft, instead of meeting the Muslim claim, undoubtedly jeopardises their position in the Muslim majority provinces as was recognised in paragraph 5 in the serial number 29 telegram to the Secretary of State for India No. 453, dated 26th February 1934, and the Government of India then stated that "we recognise, however, that the formula proposed may not be held literally to meet the cases of those provinces in which Muslims are in a majority and in which the representation of Muslims in the services is *admittedly unsatisfactory*, and we suggest that for the provinces in which Muslims are in majority, Instrument of Instructions should be so drafted as to make it clear that the Governor should take steps to protect the Muslim interests in the matter of appointments as well as the interests of minority communities". Paragraph 12 of the Instrument of Instructions that has been sent is just the reverse of it. I beg that the Secretary of State be requested to have a separate draft of this particular paragraph for the four provinces mentioned above, as desired in paragraph 5 of this telegram. It is only in case he refuses to do so that the alternative of striking out the second part of paragraph 12 of the Instrument of Instructions can be taken as an order which does not worsen the position, though it entirely fails to improve it. If no alteration is made then it is obvious that in the matter of services the position of the Muslims through this act of the

Secretary of State will have been definitely worsened than it is at present. Why this should be done is not quite clear to me, but it may be the Providence's way of helping those who are trying to bring about some sort of settlement between the two communities; and under the circumstances the settlement may have to be on the basis of surrender rather than of compromise. I should like a telegram on the subject issued to the Secretary of State for India as above from His Excellency with as emphatic a support as possible and if for any reason His Excellency feels that he cannot do so then I beg that it may be submitted to him on my behalf.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

E. C. Mieville, Esq., CEI .CMG

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349. Land's End,
Bombay,
22nd Feburary, 1935

My dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for yours with the suggestions for distribution.

Thinking it over I have come to the conclusion that I better give Haji Haroon Rs 8000= divided in 2 parts of 4000 each in 6 monthly donations. No sums should be allotted in advance but as work is done on lines approved of you will tell them to pass on say Rs 500 or 1000 to Bengal or the centre or the Jamia or League.

By leaving things elastic you can see that only *work* is compensated. Ghaznavi is the live wire in Bengal, tho' of course Nazim and Azziz must also approve of what is being done.

Yrs ever
Aga Khan

P. S.

I go to Cairo on Saturday. Please during my absence write always Ritz Hotel Paris or Ritz Hotel London. Letters are always forwarded.

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350. 6 King Edward Road, New Delhi.
25th February 1935.

My dear Azeem,

Yours of the 18th February, acknowledging receipt of mine of the 4th. It seems to have taken a long time to reach you. I wonder why ?

I am glad the cold wave has passed away from London and you have beautiful sunshine. Here, too, the cold wave has passed and now we are entering upon summer.

It is a great advantage to have Indian homes in London and it is very kind of Lady Abdul Qadir to ask you to dinner. As to Indian restraunts [*sic.*] I do not think very much of them.

I am glad that your eyes complaint has been removed and that you have got correct glasses with astigmatic lens. Those who suffer from astigmatism have to use their glasses all the time and as soon as you are used to it there will be no trouble.

I am glad you went to Maynards. Sir John as well as Lady Maynard are very nice and genuine people. There have been very few Englishmen like Sir John Maynard in the I. C. S. His scholarship, his industry, the simplicity of his taste and his life are the excellent examples he set to others of economy and of decent respectable life as distinguished from flashy, extravagant and unnatural life. The circle of his Indian admirers was very large and the circle of his European friends was very very limited. That was a great pity because it brought out prominently the difference in the view-points of the Indians and the British. His sense of justice and fairplay was exceptionally high. On many occasions I held different views from his but I held him in the highest esteem and my admiration for him was no less intense than of any one else. His devotion to duty was remarkable. If England could send fairly good proportion of the men of Maynard's type to India the racial feeling would very largely subside. I am afraid the economic aspect of Indo-British relationship is such that to us in India it appears that the tendency in England itself is towards the increasing desire for exploitation. I do hope and trust that this feeling or this view here is not well-founded.

I am very glad you met Sir Shadi Lal. I think in one of my letters I was surprised at your not calling on him and seeing him.

As to what I am going to do, there is no lack of conjectures in the Indian press and in the minds of my friends and foes. The beauty of it is that none of them can be right because they are making conjectures about a thing which does not exit; I have no programme, my mind is absolutely blank. It is probably due to low vitality, feeling of tiredness, weariness and exhaustion. I simply feel that I cannot be bothered as to the programme. I drift after a very strenuous life. I am devoid of any holiday and I feel that I have a right to it. I am getting along drifting soon; when that stage is reached there will be no difficulty in framing a programme. My friends and foes are busy making programmes for me and none of the programmes so far suggested in the public press attracts me. I was asked to join the Punjab Government as Revenue Member, but on enquiry the offer was found to involve certain happenings which rendered my acceptance difficult, if not impossible and I had to express my regret that I could not accept the offer. At times I feel that I have done enough and I should retire from public life. I am therefore content to leave matters to luck and to enjoy drifting. As to trip to Europe, I find that travelling involves an amount of strain that my poor health cannot easily bear and the vitality is so low that it is unwise to place any great strain on it. Under the circumstances I have made up my mind not to go to Europe.

You have now reached the stage where you work and make progress and yet the feeling comes that the work is immense, field unlimited and you do not know where you are. This is very natural. Success in this examination is a matter of luck. The best thing that one can do is to carry out one's duty, keep in good health, do all that those competent to advise recommend should be done and leave the rest to God. For the present you are working for the August competitive exam. When the result statement is out you can judge how you stand and then decide upon your future programme.

Your mother is here and, as usual with mothers, is very anxious about you, write to her as often as you can, and give her as little cause as possible to be upset. Afzal has been here for the

last three days; he came to attend some meetings. Akhtari and Akbar are here; both are very well.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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351. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
11th March, 1935.

My dear Azim,

Yours of the 29th Feb. which perhaps is a mistake for either the 28th of Feb. or the 1st of March.

I am glad you attended the meeting at the Institute of Foreign Affairs. That is a very good Institution and gives valuable information.

As regards the talk with Sir Shadi Lal, he is quite right in what he says. Since he left the Punjab, the people find that a Saviour has come who is finding that the judicial administration in the Province was in a hopeless mess; that there is nothing that is right and everything has to be put right. Corruption, inefficiency, lack of integrity, slow work, all have to be put right. The Chief Justice is all-seeing; he tours about, catches corrupt people. He supervises Judicial Officers. They make out that he is all just, and all this with the object of condemning his predecessor, whose administration is invested with all that is undesirable and bad; and mind you, this is not a communal move, as it is neither started by Muslims, nor made much of. Government servants, members of the Bar Associations, leading Lawyers, all of them have, in their respective interests, vied with one another in worshipping the rising sun. There would be no harm in doing that if they did not think it necessary as part of the worship to condemn the sun that has set. It is very sad to see the very people who used to be, or at all events believed to be, great admirers of Sir Shadi Lal, now by implication, making out that the embodiment of efficiency has come now. This is the way of the world. I have not met the new Chief Justice yet, but he is most highly spoken of all round, and everywhere he receives demonstrations and parties and other functions.

As to Sir Shadi Lal saying that we should come to an understanding, he is quite right, but unfortunately the Hindus in the Punjab have no leader and place no confidence in any one. Sir Shadi Lal was the only man in whose ability and capacity they had faith and confidence. Therefore, coming to a settlement is more difficult than ever. Still, every effort should be made to arrive at a settlement. I wonder whether Sir Shadi Lal feels amused that some time back a movement was started in the Punjab to the effect that Sir Shadi Lal wanted to take part in the public life of the Province and to take a hand in politics under the reforms, but that I being a very clever man made His Majesty's Government appoint him a Privy Councillor and thus he was taken away from the Punjab so that he may not stand against me in becoming the Chief Minister, and the Hindu press has been doing a great deal of propaganda on the lines, attributing to me great influence and spiritual powers which enable me to spirit away all clever men who are likely to be my rivals.

We are all very well.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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352. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
18th March, 1935.

My dear Azim,

You must be approaching the end of your term and getting ready for your vacation. I suppose you will be passing your vacation in some healthy, retired place so that you may be able to concentrate your mind on your work in healthy surroundings and have plenty of exercise to keep fit. As you live in London and have to live there for two or three months running now and after the vacation, it would be as well to have a complete change during the vacation.

I have sent you £ 125 as originally arranged, and will send you £ 50 to reach you early in August. This, I suppose, will see you through till you know how you stand in the examination, and then we will make a programme for the future.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

P. S.

I enclose the Second Half of Exchange.

I have just received your letter of the 8th March. Yes, Lord Lothian is a good speaker and good writer, and I am sure his address must have been good and interesting. As a politician, I am afraid, he is not so good as his knowledge and his experience would justify one to expect. He is strong on the theoretical side but I am afraid he is weak on the practical side and, in particular, in appreciation of the psychological side of political problems.

Yes, it is curious that even such clever and shrewd men like Sir Shadi Lal and others should refuse to believe that I am in need of rest and cannot work any more. These people attribute to me superhuman qualities.

Six Guineas for having a tooth filled up does seem exorbitant.

I reach Lahore on the 1st of April. Therefore you should, in future, write to me at 39 Empress Road, Lahore.

Sir Joseph Bhore will be reaching London towards the end of April, and I will tell him that you will call on him. I will, in particular, ask Lady Bhore to see you and talk to you.

Yours again,
Fazl-i-Husain

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353. 39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
8 April 1935.

My dear Azim,

On the Ist of April (in the afternoon) I handed over charge of my office from Lahore. There was a monster reception at the railway station and presentation of an address by the Municipality. I was and am very weak, tired and weary, and feel thoroughly exhausted. Under the circumstances I missed the air mail.

Now that a week has passed and I have not allowed my rest to be disturbed either by attending functions or receiving visitors and discussing affairs with them, I find a little better, I am afraid only

very slightly better, but then I must not expect too much and from just a week. I probably need weeks and months of rest. My old chronic complaint of bronchiectasis is just the same, but since last February my kidneys have shown some sluggishness, and I am being treated for it. This is responsible for extra weakness. I believe two or three months complete rest and treatment will improve matters considerably, and may be that another three months of rest and treatment may put me in a position to do something.

We are all in the new house. Nasim and the family are quite well, Asghari and Naima are getting on, Husnara has finished her Matriculation exam. while Asif will sit for her Intermediate next Monday.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

354.

39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
18 April 1935

My dear Azim,

I missed the air mail, and have been since my arrival here feeling so weak and tired that have not instituted enquiries as to the days on which the second air mail leaves. I have had no temperature but there is a feeling of weariness and exhaustion which makes me be inert. Since yesterday I am feeling a bit less tired. I suppose in a few weeks time, my nerves and muscles will have rested and then normal condition will be restored....

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

355.

Abbottabad,
14 June 1935.

My dear Shahabuddin,

I fully understand what life means to you after your wife's death. People, including relations and connections are so selfish, so petty, so jealous, so ungrateful that it is heart-breaking and even disgusting. One has to be patient and not mind all the treacheries. Life now

consists in the performance of duty to wind up. You have cause for very great satisfaction—risen by sheer merit, self-made man, an honourable illustration of what one can do for one's self. Your wife wasyour most helpful colleague. You might have made a mess of your life. You should keep her memory always in your mind as of a protecting angel.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

356. بنگلہ نمبر ۱۹ ، ایبٹ آباد

۱۵ جون ۱۹۳۵ء

پرائیویٹ و کانفیڈنشل

مکرمی زاد لطفہ،

السلام علیکم، میں یہ عریضہ دستی ارسال کر رہا ہوں - اس لیے کہ مسلمانان پنجاب کے مفاد بالخصوص اور اہل پنجاب کے بالعموم اس بات کے مقتضی ہیں کہ جو پالیسی ان کے لیے مفید ہے وہ صراحت سے اور حوصلہ سے پبلک کے سامنے پیش کی جائے اور جو حملے بسبب کوتاہ اندیشی یا خود غرضی مسلمانان پنجاب کے باہمی اتحاد پر ہو رہے ہیں ان کی مدافعت کی جائے - اس کار خیر میں اخبار کی اشاعت بڑھانا ایک موثر و موزن وسیلہ ہے اور میں بہت مشکور ہوں گا - اگر آپ اس میں دلچسپی لیں اور پوری سعی کریں - میں بسبب کمزوری صحت فی الحال پبلک معاملات میں حصہ لینے سے عاری ہوں - پھر بھی ضروری سمجھا کہ چند دوستوں کو یہ تکلیف دوں -

آپ کا
فضل حسین

[لاہور کے کسی اردو روزنامے کے نام]

———

357. Abbottabad,
29 June 1935

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 25th.

You say every word of what I have said is right. It is so because Providence has vouchsafed to me a sense of sympathy, and it is

strengthened by the varied experiences which have fallen to my lot. I am very grateful to God for all success and sorrows.

You and I have done very well. You have had your disappointments, denied many things which would have made life fuller and perhaps happier, but look at the lakhs and lakhs of people who have had greater disappointments, greater sorrows. Why, there are thousands upon thousands who are jealous of your success.

In the latter part of our lives we pay the penalty of living to a good mature age. Those who are dear and near to us pass away, while we have the satisfaction of continuing to live, we suffer the pain and anguish involved in those dear to us departing till a stage is reached when we do not long to live and death does not appear to be such a very dreadful thing.

This is philosophy, no commonsense, but let us turn to more cheerful topics.......

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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358. Abbottabad,
14 July 1935.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 7th.

I well can understand your present frame of mind and sympathise with you Mental satisfaction is the main thing, and without it, life cannot but be a burden. It is however up to us, not to set the standard of mental satisfaction too high, not to expect too much from life, from society, from existence. You have done a great deal, achieved a great deal, luck has favored you. Just bring to your mind your class fellows in your school or your college. Many showed great promise, greater than you did, and where are they? Where have they been? How many have done better than you? So to mental satisfaction you will find that very few if any have fared better than you. Each one of us has his long and heart-breaking tale of woe and surely there is a great deal in مرگ انبوه جشنے دارد. Let us be light-hearted, our sorrows are unbearable, but our remaining

life has to be led; let us live it to please and help others and find solace in that.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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359. 27 Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
20th July, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thank you for your kind letter of yesterday. I herewith enclose a copy of the circular letter. I regret the delay. I wrote a note on the 16th to Gokal Chand Narang asking for a copy of it, who sent it up to Simla to Marsden who sent it down on the 18th and I got it on the 19th. The situation in Lahore has deteriorated since yesterday. The Muslim leaders have been fully consulted by me and they are all willing to accept the following position :

1. The ownership and possession of the mosque site shall vest in the Sikhs in accordance with the decision of the Gurdawara Tribunal. The Musalmans filed no appeal in the High Court. The mosque site shall be walled around and fenced and left vacant and not built over nor used for all future times.

2. The Sikhs are willing to agree to this position but they say that they object to the words "not used". They are willing to leave it vacant and promise not to build over it but they do not wish to lose the right of use altogether, *e. g.*, they want to have a right to go on to the site and mow the lawn and plant flower bushes.[1] We are meeting again this afternoon to discuss the situation. As far No. (1) above is concerned, Maulana Zafar Ali, Sayed Habib and Feroz-ud-Din Ahmad, three out of the four externees, have been fully consulted and they all agree. Maulvi Ahmad Ali and Maulvi Ghulam Murshad have also agreed to this. Of course Nawab Muzaffar also agrees. We have been in full consultation with each other. Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan has taken part in all this. He is also agreeable. Let us see what happens

1. We agreed but Sikhs gone back. Firoz.

this afternoon[1]. H. E. is also fully in touch with what is going on,

The Hindus have been very mischievous and in my opinion some of them have done their utmost to spoil a settlement. They themselves say that they have helped. The Hindu press tone has been very provocative telling Muslims that they were useless fellows—this being already the cause of the outburst that has gone on yesterday and today. This morning police had to fire twice several rounds in all. Four are reported killed and three injured.

As regards Ahrars they have carefully kept out of it. Their game has been to avoid a quarrel with the Sikhs and they also were afraid of going to jail and thereby missing the next election. Their plan being, with the help of Akali Sikhs, to form the next Cabinet. This is an open secret. They have procrastinated in this matter and always evaded the issue and kept out of it in spite of the pressure of Muslims in Lahore bazars. Night before last about 250 people collected outside their office and abused them. There have been posters all over the city against the Ahrars. Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari has left for Dalhousie or Mussorie. The Ahrars have called a conference for the 27th. Their game is that if there is any settlement by then they will be able to say that they khew there would be peace. Therefore they did not come in. I am informed that all the Ahrar Committees in the mufassil have revolted against Afzal Haq and their troop and there is strong feeling against them all over the province. Zafar Ali and Habib are making good use of this opportunity to run the Ahrars down. Nawab Muzaffar Khan has always very wisely counselled that if an agreement is made with the Sikhs, the Ahrars must be partners, so that they could not start a mischief after peace has been made. Afzal Haq and Mazhar Ali Azhar attended the meeting of M. L. C's on the 17th in the Council Chamber but they were absent from the meeting at the Government House this morning. They attended the 3 P.M. meeting at *Piplas*. Lahore is passing

1. Last evening we broke up without any result. We meet tonight again but nothing will come out if it. Firoz.

through a very critical time.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz
(Firoz Khan Noon)

Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain Sahib, K. C. S. I.,
Abbotabad. (Bungalow No. 19).

P.S. Above was dictated yesterday 2.30. The 3 o/c meeting with Sikhs at *Pipals* proved a failure. They are very cunning, troublesome and in with the Hindus. The whole lot of them. Jogi is staying with Gokal. Raja N. N. [Nirendra Nath] presides at all private Sikhs meetings.

Shahabuddin, Muzaffar and myself all three went and saw H. E. together thereafter.

Huge crowds are squatting outside Delhi Gate, 4 or 5 thousand since yesterday. Luckily they are peaceful. No shooting took place last night.

Mobs are infuriated. All ready to die.

They don't listen to any one. Many people have gone and talked to them.

———

360. Lahore
20 July 1935.

Dear Mian Sahib.

I was here on the 17th, then went to Rohtak and returned on the 19th in order to be able to have a talk with some Sikhs whom I knew. Unfortunately these Sikhs had left Lahore and Sardar Jogendra Singh is staying with Dr. Gokal Chand. Thus it is impossible to get a quiet hour even with Sardar Jogendra Singh.

The situation is getting worse. The new and ill-conceived move to attempt a march on Shahidganj is bound to antagonise Sikhs who, as a "delightful" people, were already reluctant to take a sufficiently long view.

The incidents of yesterday are given in brief in the local papers.

Though I came a day earlier I was unable to do anything practical as the agents through whom I expected to do my little bit were not available. However, I saw the Governor at 7.30 p.m. yesterday. The situation being extremely grave he was naturally very anxious—almost nervous. There had been no firing up to then and there seems to have been no firing since. He was very much perturbed at the prospect of firing becoming unavoidable. The officers on the spot seem to have acted with exceptional restraint and moderation. After the first 36 arrests had been made the crowd seems to have made up its mind to imprison those who had gone to bring arrested persons in a prison van. Many people stretched themselves on the ground in front of the lorry, then ripped open its tyres and broke its engine. It is 10 a.m. now. Ahmad Yar has gone out to bring more information. I will add it when he returns.

One alarming news is that the "agitators" are trying to enlist the active sympathy and help of Pir Jama 'at Ali Shah and Pir Faze Shah for civil disobedience. In fact according to them these Pirs have already sworn on the holy Quran to render this help.

The situation wrung a confession from the Governor that you were the only person who could master the situation, but he deplored your sick health at the present moment. I told him that you had written a very strong letter on the subject to Ahmad Yar suggesting the great need of giving a correct lead to the masses and not allowing them to be misled.

I may also add that after Juma prayers at the Badshahi mosque the congregation, that is, the wilder section of it had taken an oath to proceed to Shahidganj *en bloc*. The tragedy of the situation is that Muslims are without a leader at present, and wild young men are leading the mob. . . .

The crowd got reduced during the night to 800. It has swelled again to 1200. Only mild *lathi* charges and water hoses were used to effect dispersal. The crowd is still sitting in the middle of the road and blocking the way. ...

At this stage I left to attend the Conference the venue of which had been changed to the Government House as, contrary to my

previous information, there had been firing in the city. In the first instance, five rounds were fired and the crowd gave way. After some time the crowd came up again. On the second occasion two more rounds were fired. There are unconfirmed reports that eleven persons were killed as a result of this firing. Probably this is an exaggeration. Firing was resorted to after every other means of dispersing the crowd had failed and a senior officer of Police, some constables and some cavalry men had been injured by brick-bats. Numerous *lathi* charges and even a march by the cavalry had failed before fire was opened. All this information was given to us at the conference by the Governor himself.

I may also add that the persons arrested were rescued by the crowd out of the prison van.

I returned from the Government House at 1 p.m. to resume this account.

At the conference the Governor gave us an account of what happened, and made an earnest appeal to Muslims and Sikhs to come to an uuderstanding. Sadiq made a very sound and sincere speech which was appreciated by everybody.

The officials then left and the conference was continued under the presidentship of Ch. Shahabud Din. The Muslims retired to one corner of the hall and Sikhs and Hindus to the other. The following formula was suggested—probably by Dr. Gokal Chand—as a solution:

The question of ownership and possession of the Shahidganj having been finally decided by the court as being with Sikhs the members present at this conference should recommend to their respective communities that as a solution of the present difficulty the site actually under the mosque should be surrounded by a wall or a fence and should not be built upon for all time.

I am quoting from memory, but am not far from actual wording.

Muslims put forward an amendment that the words "or used for any purpose" should also be added. This was not acceptable to Sikhs. Another amendment which was under discussion when we broke up for lunch was that the final words should be "should be

enclosed on all sides by a wall nine feet high". The suggestion is obviously meant to secure the substance without fighting for words. The Raja Sahib is of opinion that anything excluding use nullifies the rights of Sikhs under the decree.

The position is that Sikhs are mere puppets in the hands of the Hindus, and Hindus are most unwilling to see a composition of the differences which may keep Sikhs aloof from Muslims. They want the Sikhs to fight for them against the Muslims. The last amendment will, I am given to understand, be acceptable to the general body of Muslims. It is not likely to be acceptable to Sikhs—because it is not acceptable to the urban Hindus—unless the Governor tells Dr. Gokal Chand and Raja Narendra Nath that he will hold them responsible if the Sikhs fail to accept this arrangement. Of course, this hint may be conveyed very gently whether ever this hint will be effective I am not sure. But in the absence of this hint any compromise does not seem possible.

Personally I regard the attempt of Muslims to nullify a civil court's decree by direct action as most unreasonable. But a difficult and even grave position having arisen I would not, If I were a Sikh, insist upon my pound of flesh and see the province plunged into bloodshed.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

P. S. The letter is being posted at 2 p.m.

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361. 21st July, 1935

Dear Mian Sahib,

We are to meet again this evening at 6 p.m. with Chaudhri Sahib in the Chair. The Sikhs had to leave for Amritsar to attend an All-Parties conference to be held early this morning. The formula fell through as the condition of non-user proved unacceptable to Sikhs. All the obstruction comes from Hindu and Sikh non-zamindars; the zamindars are mere pawns in the game.

Since the second firing the crowd has been absolutely quiet and non-violent. But there are three different crowds now at three different places, all held up by the Police and all non-violent.

This truce is to last up to 6 p.m. this evening. After this the mob may try to break through the cordon. They are sitting quiet now in the hope that there may be a settlement.

Mr. Partab has done very well. He may have given offence to certain Europeans who wanted firing to be resorted to earlier and much more frequently. According to reports he is very popular with the mob who know that he stood between firing and the mob several times. Hindus and Sikhs are helping Muslims (of the mob) with food and water along with other Muslim workers. Fortunately, as a result of the above there has been no communal bitterness so far.

I have submitted two more formulas to the Governor with a request that H.M.A. may be asked to go to Amritsar to secure the consent of Sikhs to one of them. The gist of these formulas is that the Sikhs should make a declaration that in response to the appeals of many respectable Muslims they consider it their moral duty to forget the original hostile attitude of a section of Lahore Muslims and agree to wall up the actual site of the mosque for all time or in the alternative for five years after which it will be open to revision in the light of the mutual relations of the communities during the interval.

Urban Hindus look upon the present trouble as a Godsend. They naturally expect that the breach between Sikhs and Muslims, if continued, will prevent any future alliance, that the present trouble will also cause an estrangement between Government and Muslims and that urban Hindus will gain in so many ways if no solution is found. I have conveyed my feelings in the matter to H.E. In the event of no solution being found my advice is that Muslims should immediately issue an appeal for funds for a suit for the recovery of the mosque and a tomb in its neighbourhood. The claim in respect of the latter is considered to be rather strong. In any case, such a course will divert the attention of the mob from civil disobedience and will help in maintaining, at least partially, the influence and prestige of Muslim leaders.

I feel sure that if Muslim leaders had not adopted an attitude of indifference and timidity they would have succeeded in maintaining

their hold on the people. Even now they can regain it. There are some signs that they will make an attempt. At least, I am encouraging them to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

362.

Minister of Education, 17, Lawrence Road, Lahore.
Punjab Government. 23rd July, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

You will want to know what has been happening since I wrote you last. You must have read about the firing in the newspapers. The correct official information of this morning is that only 23 shots were fired on ten or eleven occasions, which work out at an average of two shots per occasion. Nine deaths are officially reported and a certain number wounded also, but we do not know the exact numbers yet. We have been holding meeting at Mamdot's and this house to consider ways out of the difficulty. We decided to secure a *fatwa* from maulvis of Lahore in favour of stopping the senseless sacrifice of lives. The Ulemas were to have met at Mamdot's house to-day at 3 o'clock. I have just come from there. It is 4.30 now. No one turned up. Out of the 13 invited only 3 invitees appeared. These Ulemas had a secret meeting in Wazir Khan's mosque. The opinion there was against being shot and against going to prison, but none of these maulvis had the courage to go and say this to the crowd because they were afraid of being hooted. I consulted one or two maulvis at my house. They were not in favour of civil disobedience. In fact the maulvis have failed to give a lead. They can naturally say that the politicians want to use them as a shield in this matter, so that they may bear the brunt of attack by the irresponsible persons who are carrying on this agitation. This morning about 25 persons have up to now been arrested in pursuance of the civil disobedience campaign. Five at a time have been going. The first 11 belong to places outside Lahore. The Lahories have been rather clever in this matter. There is a rumour of late that in future they will be caned

instead of being sent to jail. If this rumour spreads widely, it may damp the enthusiasm of foreigners. A very large number of homes have been affected seriously by the firing. It is really very pitiable. There seems to be no leader and they are not willing to take any advice except the one which pushes them on with law-breaking, but I think time is the healer of all things and in a few days the mentality of the crowd may change.

At to-days' meeting it was suggested by Mian Abdul Aziz that you should be invited to come. Of course every body welcomed the idea. A few minutes later Afzal Ali Hasni suggested, no doubt at the instigation of some body, that Sikandar Hayat shonld also be invited along with Mian Sahib, the idea being to place him on equal footings perhaps with yourself and it was suggested that Muzaffar, myself and Sir Shahab-ud-Din should issue a telegram inviting you both to come to Lahore. At this I suggested that Sikandar being a Government servant, perhaps it would not be advisable to trouble him. Muzaffar said that he was not a Government servant. Then I said that I am not prepared to sign a telegram like this unless I consult you previously and you give your consent, because I felt that if your health did not permit you to come, a certain section of mischievous people in Lahore who had been carrying on press propaganda against you will use this as your indifference to Muslim needs in Lahore. As a matter of fact the same trick was played on me during the last two days. Some mischievous fellow asked the editor of the '*Ahsan*' to ring me up on the telephone and invite me to see the firing. Just at that moment 14 of us were going in a deputation to see H.E. and I said to this gentleman that it was not possible for me to come. This man went and made a speech in a mosque that Sir Firoz Khan Noon did not sympathise with the poor sufferers because he refused to come. Some people tried to play the same trick with Muzaffar. Luckily in the mosque a friend of mine was present and he got up and made a spirited speech and put this fellow to shame and he had to withdraw his words.

As far as I can see the situation the Sikhs have refused to move an inch and they have point-blank refused to give the place to the Musalmans or even to promise not to use it in the future. Govern-

ment rightly feel that the decree of the court should be enforced and the Sikhs allowed to enjoy their ownership and possession of this land. Consequently I feel that there is no hope for the Musalmans at all in securing their object even though they sacrifice a hundred thousand lives. It will be an excellent thing if you could come, but if you cannot come, what do you think of a certain number of Muslims of Lahore issuing a statement calling upon Musalmans to stop this sending of *jathas* for imprisonment. Some people feel that it is very unpleasant to accept defeat but I see absolutely no way out of it. It was a senseless agitation started by Habib and Zafar Ali Khan without consulting anybody. Do you approve of the idea of our issuing a statement to this effect. We may be abused by some people in the bazars who are rightly mad with anger over the desecration of the mosque, but I feel that it is our duty after today's meeting's failure to issue the statement.

With kindest regards to you all.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Firoz

Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.S.I.,
Bungalow No. 19, Abbotabad.

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363. 17 Lawrence Road, Lahore,
26th July, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thank you for your kind letters—two of them received today and one received yesterday. I have been exceedingly busy and hence I have not been able to write to you as frequently as I wanted to. I have been constantly in touch with His Excellency and in full consultation with him. I have also been in touch with the Municipal Commissioners and the other local dignitaries every day and have been attending two or three meetings every day. You must have seen the statement that 12 of us issued yesterday. They were always holding meetings and procrastinating the issue of a statement. Yesterday I told everybody that I was going to give my mind to the public whether anybody joined or not. So gradually all the 11 came in

and I was glad that it was a joint statement. Situation in the city is very much easier now and I see signs of things coming to a close. In the beginning the crowds were so furious that they were not willing to listen to anybody. They were like wild horse who had taken the bit in his mouth and gone out of control. They were leaderless and did what they liked. It was the constant pressure through the city gentlemen *e.g.*, Municipal Commissioners who had attended our meetings that we have been able to bring them round to this state of affairs. I am very much hoping that at the Juma prayers today they will call off civil disobedience once for all.

With kindest regards to you all.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Firoz

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364. "Dilnawaz," Dalhousie,

28th July, 1935.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

I duly received your letter of 18th at Lahore, and letters of 23rd and 24th at Dalhousie, where I reached on the morning of 25th. The events at Lahore were changing so rapidly that I could not write to you anything definitely, and now that all is over, nothing need be written. I extremely regret the blood-shed of innocent Muslims; but what can't be cured must be endured.

I am sorry to learn that you yet get temperature now-and-then. Please take care of your health. Your life is the most valuable asset for Muslims of India.

I left Lahore on 24th as, in my opinion, the drama had been finished. The statement, which has appeared over the signatures of Firoze and others, was prepared at my house on the morning of 24th. I did not agree with it and others also were unwilling to support it that day, but apparently they changed their minds the next day. However, all's well that ends well. I don't think the site of the mosque was worth the price Muslims have paid for it in sacrificing their lives; but the *Ulama*, *Vokala* and *Johla* misled the masses with

the deplorable result which they did not probably foresee.

With all good wishes,

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahab-ud-Din

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365. 'Castlegrove',
Private Simla W.
29th July, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thank you ever so much for your letters of the 24th and 26th. I am sure Dwarka Das will be grateful both for what you have done and what you have promised; I certainly am. It was good of you to have taken all this trouble, even when you are resting.

I have made it clear to all concerned that I shall take leave next year, as soon as the Assembly Session ends. I should have gone, even in October, but there is to be an Assembly special session in November and both H.E. and the new Members wish me to stay on for that. You know from your past experience how difficult it is to refuse requests of this kind. I don't flatter myself that I am indispensable, but, if I insist on leave now, I would probably offend the powers that be. As regards the Viceroy Council's job, so far as I know the idea is that Burt should act temporarily until my future has been settled as regards the Secretaryship. The new H.M. has other ideas as to who should be Secretary, if I relinquish the post.

Yes, there have been strange and violent doings at Lahore. It bodes ill for the future if one community thinks that the best way to assert its legal rights is to wound deeply the religious susceptibilities of another. All this helps the outsider to strengthen his own position. I am afraid it will be long before we are fit for self government !

My wife wishes to be remembered to Lady Sahiba and the girls. When do you return to Lahore ?

Yours sincerely,
G. S. Bajpai
[Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai]

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366. 17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
31st July, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

The situation is well under control and the movement is dying down. There is still bitterness among Muslim masses and this will take time to die down. But danger is over I think.

I have not shown any of your letters to H.E. but I have on more than one occasion told him that you were strongly against this agitation and that you had advised all your friends in Lahore to stop it as soon as possible. He was very grateful to you. I told him that you had written to me and to Amirud Din and his uncle to this effect. Also to Ahmad Yar and Shahabud Din.

With kindest regards to you all,

Yours sincerly,
Firoz

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367. ایبٹ آباد
۳۱ جولائی ۱۹۳۵ء

سید حبیب صاحب

السلام علیکم - آپ کا خط مورخہ ۲۹ جولائی -

۱ - آپ لکھتے ہیں - ''آپ نے اس خط میں مجھے دروغ باف لکھا ہے'' - جہاں تک مجھے اپنا خط یاد ہے ، یہ بات غلط ہے -

۲ - اس سے پہلے آپ نے اپنے ۲۳ جون کے خط میں لکھا تھا - ''آپ نے بھی بعض اخبارات کے مالکوں کو حجاز بھیجا - مگر مجھے تو آپ نے بھی حج کی دعوت نہ دی'' - اس کی نسبت آپ سے دریافت کیا کہ جن کی طرف اشارہ ہے ان کے نام تحریر فرمائیں - آپ نے آج تک جواب نہیں دیا -

۳ - موجودہ چٹھی میں آپ تحریر فرماتے ہیں - ''شریفانہ زبان کا استعمال ضروری ہے'' - اور ابتدائی حصہ میں لکھتے ہیں کہ میں نے آپ کو ایمان فروش کہا تھا -

مجھے ۱۹۱۶ء سے جناب سے نیاز حاصل ہے - جب آپ نے کانگرس میں میری رائے کے خلاف ایسی تقریریں کرنے پر اصرار کیا تھا جو میں پبلک مفاد کے خلاف سمجھتا تھا - افسوس ہے اگر بیس سالہ تجربہ کے بعد آپ کا یہ خیال

ہے کہ مجھے بھی دھمکا کر کچھ فائدہ ہو سکتا ہے ۔ ہاں اگر آپ کا فائدہ اس وقت آپ کو میرے خلاف کوئی تحریک جاری کرنے میں نظر آتا ہے تو شوق سے شروع کیجیے ۔

۴ ۔ بے شک اندریں حالات بہتر ہوگا کہ تعارفی چٹھیاں واپس کر دیں ۔ موجودہ حالات میں وہ چٹھیاں بے معنی ہیں ۔

آپ کا

فضل حسین

368. "Dilnawaz,"
Dalhousie,
4th August, 1935.

My dear Fazl-i-Hasain,

Yours of 1st. Your letters, nay a single word of them, could not be wasted upon me. It so happened that your view about the Shahid Ganj affair were exactly the same as mine; and when His Excellency consulted me I suggested to him the course, which, in my opinion, should have been followed; but he preferred to follow his own way, or the advice of others. I did my best, once personally and again as the Spokesman of a Deputation of 14 Muslims. No mention has been made of this Deputation in Newspapers. Your letter of 18th ult. was my best guide and I stuck to it throughout, nay I placed your views before the Governor without, of course, showing him the letter. But he was adamant. The report (copy enclosed) of a correspondant of the *Tribune*, on page 2, Column 4 of the issue for August 2, about the "Dispute over a well near Mosque," is worth perusal. It clearly demonstrates that the Magistrate was more tactful than the Government of the Punjab.

On 27th July I dictated a long letter, covering 4 typed pages, in reply to your letter of the 18th *idem*, but before it was posted I received your letters of 23rd and 24th simultaneously with Newspapers which said that the drama at Lahore was over. Upon this I thought it useless to post my long letter and sent in its stead a brief one the next day.

As to your question about my making a forecast regarding the Cabinet and its Chiefs under the next Reformed Council, I have not

the slightest hesitation to answer the question according to my light, but I would prefer to place my views before you when we meet. All I can say is that without your lead the Muslims shall be nowhere. No one in this world is indispensable or irreplaceable; but from what I have seen recently, I have come to the conclusion that you are an exception to this rule. So, you must live and lead the unfortunate Muslims so long as you can. More on this subject when we meet.

Mumtaz is well. He came out by "Victoria"—an Italian boat—on a return ticket; and as Italy and Abyssinnia are likely to enter into a war, it is uncertain whether he will be able to travel back by an Italian boat. Therefore, the date of his departure is not settled yet. However, I am making enquiries.

Dalhousie is as green and healthy as ever. When do you intend to return to Lahore ?

With kindest regards,

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahabuddin

———

Confidential & Personal.

369. 17, Lawrence Road, Lahore,
Minister for Education, 8th August, 1935.
Punjab Government.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. It is perfectly true that the Sikhs are rebuilding on the mosque site. They have been busy moving the debris eversince the mosque was demolished and now they are building the outer wall which is along the road side. The Military authorities have built grass huts (*chappars*) very high on the road side along the whole mosque wall which covers the whole place from human sight from the outside. These *chappars* are occupied by European soldiers and consequently it is impossible for any body from outside to see what is happening there. These *chappars* have been put up quite recently, no doubt, to prevent provocation of Muslim passers by by movement of Sikhs inside the mosque land. You must have seen in papers yesterday that some European soldiers actually went on to the mosque site and helped in carrying the debris

which was commented on in papers and much appreciated by Sikhs. I do not know how far this is true, but this has not been contradicted.

I know it definitely that the Sikhs have not taken the sanction of the Municipality for building over this mosque site. They are doing this against the law. Government are fully aware of what is happening on the mosque site. There is a great deal of bitterness throughout the province over this affair. In the central Punjab districts where the Sikhs carry swords and Mussalmans do not, the Sikhs have become very truculent. You must have seen in yesterday's papers that a Muslim *Teli* who tried to prevent two Sikhs from quarreling with each other had his head chopped off by a Sikh with his *kirpan*. Only yesterday a man who came by train told me that on a station called Moman or some similar name near Chuharkana there were *charpais* of 14 Muslims injured, four of them were practically on death-bed having had their arms and heads hacked with *Chawis* and swords and the story told was that some four or five Sikhs put their goats into the Muslims fields. The Muslims quarrelled with them. At this 250 Sikhs armed with *Chawis* and swords attacked the Mussalmans in their houses in the evening and this was the result. This has not yet been cofirmed. Let us hope that this is wrong. The Sikhs throughout the province have adopted a very defying attitude. I do not know what the poor Muslims can do. The situation seems to be hopeless. I have no hope of Government allowing Mussalmans to carry swords even for self-defence at this moment in the districts where the Muslims and Sikhs are treated differently in the matter of swords.

I have never hesitated in representing the Muslim cause properly or truly, but, as you know, the final decision does not rest with me.

I am leaving for Simla by tomorrow evening train. H. E. and other officials leave on Saturday evening and Muzaffar leaves here on Sunday evening. We had to arrange different dates in order not to create a rush the same evening. The weather here has been very pleasant and my health has improved since I have come down from Simla. Please destroy this letter after perusal.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Firoz

370. 17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
August, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I was extremely sorry to learn that you had not kept up the excellent progress you had made last month. By the grace of God I hope as the monsoon weakens you will begin to pick up weight again. As far as I have been able to judge from your letters you expected little result without the consent of Sikhs and help of Govt. The former having refused to give up the place given them by a court of law, there was little hope of getting it by show or actual use of force.

H.E.'s viewpoint is that he had to bring in troops to prevent a clash between Sikhs and Muslims and to prevent bloodshed. This was used by some in spreading the false rumour that Govt had the mosque pulled down under protection of troops. He is even now trying with Sikhs to see sense through DC Amritsar and is not without hope but I personally see no hope of Sikhs giving up one inch of this land. The *two* rival parties in SGPC [*Shri Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee*] are afraid of each other.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

P.S.

I do not know how long HE will be here. He has not made up his mind yet. I may be here up to the 10th of August at least. All is quiet here now; though feeling among Muslim masses is still bitter.

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371. 17 Lawrence Road, Lahore
9th August 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

The Muslim public are greatly feeling the need of an organised party which could give a lead to Mussalmans in the Punjab. I think it is a most opportune time to have a party of this nature.

The Punjab National Unionists exists but it is a party consisting of members belonging to all communities and it will not catch the

imagination of the Muslim masses. Let the Punjab National Unionist party exist but we must have a fairly Muslim organisation for capturing the Muslim masses. I shall be grateful if you will kindly give a thought to the formation of such a party.

It is proposed that the name of the new party should be Muslim Zamindara party. It shall have a constitution in which any Muslim may join whether Urban or rural. The following items of creed are suggested :

1. To work for the religious, political, enonomical [*sic.*] and social advancement of the Muslims;
2. To protect and help the poor;
3. To promote country's industry and trade;
4. To stand by the Land Alienation Act and its principles;
5. To help in setting up factories which will consume raw materials produced in this country;
6. To develop the mineral wealth of the country;
7. To guarantee religious liberty to all ;
8. To protect honour, person and property of all;
9. To lighten the burden of taxation and reduction in Government expenditure wherever possible;
10. To promote co-operation, marketing of agricultural produce;
11. Distribution of good seeds and fruit trees ;
12. Reduction in rates of interest, opening of mortgage banks on low rates of interest ;
13. To advance loans for the improvement of agriculture, and industry ;
14. To provide drinking water supplies in rural areas wherever needed;
15. To provide cheap motive power particularly electricity for industrial, agricultural and domestic purposes;
16. To encourage production and consumption of Swadeshi goods;
17. Spread of free compulsory five-year primary education for girls and boys ;
18. Introduction of optional religious education in Government and local body schools ;

19. To do everything possible for the elimination of unemployment ;
20. To support the opening of technical institutions ;
21. To secure proper share of Public Services for the Mussalmans;
22. To work for a healthier Punjab ;
23. To remove the deplorable slum conditions of the town and villages ;
24. To promote peace and friendship with sister community, and to work for the prosperity and happiness of the country in general.

The work of the Unionist Party will be mainly inside the Council and this party will work outside the Council in support of the Unionist Party.

These are only rough ideas which are submitted to you for your consideration and suggestions for improvement.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

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372. Lahore.
13th August 1935

Dear Mian Sahib,

The white washing of the bungalow is going on. What about the selection of the paper for the drawing room and the colour of the distemper of the drawing room and also what about the hall? There are no niches built in the walls of the bath-rooms of the upper storey and consequently no almirahs can be fitted there.

The Ahraris appear to be in very hot waters now a days and they are trying to keep themselves safe for the coming elections [which] might cost them a great deal.

Many persons have been trying to fish in the troubled water of Shahid Gunj Mosque trouble. Malik Feroz Khan and Nawab Muzaffar failed to show a united front and never could take one another into their confidence. The former was also trying to be honest and helpful to his community but in the case of the latter I found that he was trying to make his own future secure even at the cost of the community. He tried to impress upon the Governor that

he was popular with the Sikhs and the Ahraris and very accommodating to the powers that be—all very good qualification for the future chief minister of the province in the eyes of Sir Herbert. He tried to invite Sir Sikander when it was suggested to invite you here and in spite of his professions I don't think he is honest towards you. You might be in a position to know better.

Lahore has had a good shower and the weather has been quite pleasant during the last two days.

I do hope this will find you in much better health.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Amiruddin

P. S.

As for the expenses of the bungalow you may send a cheque for Rs. 300/- for the present.

———

[Letter No. 373, from His Highness the Aga Khan to Sir Fazl-i-Husain, is reproduced on the following pages, in full and in original. Corrections and changes are in the hand of Sir Fazl-i-Husain who seems to have prepared a statement on the future Muslim *policy* in India, based on His Highness Sir Aga Khan's detailed account.]

The. Hon. Sir Fazli Husein K.CS.I.

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Hotel Ritz
Paris -

~~VILLA TANTI~~
~~RUE DES VILLAS~~
~~TEL. 2 140 — —~~

13th August 1935.

373

My dear Sir Fazli,

I have left your letter of ~~24th~~ June unanswered till now because you asked me what should be the future policy of the Moslems of India. This is a very difficult question indeed, and the kind of policy that we have been thinking of in the past will not meet the circumstances of the future. We are in India in a minority (not even one fourth of the population) and, ~~whether we like it or not~~, for all time we have to live in India and for all time we have the Hindu majority by our sides. This position would indeed have been desperate and hopeless if the Moslems were 25% all over the country, and Hindus everywhere in a majority.- But as things are, fortunately, it is not so bad, for [in one part, however small] ~~we have the vast Pakestan block on one sides where~~ we are a positive majority, - ~~which is~~ a frontier province touching independent Moslem States, [& another touching] ~~as well as~~ the sea. Again in Bengal, which is a frontier and maritime province, we have a majority - a real federation which will, if we take care, develop in time. Our position is neither hopeless nor desperate. Where we are small minorities (as in the South and the Centre) we must frankly accept the position. ~~similar to that of the Jews in Europe or the Parsees and Christians in India.~~ Perhaps in time, if our people have political sense (of which I am doubtful), they would gradually emigrate to the Moslem

North and the Moslem East as the Turks have done now in Europe through the exchanges with Greece. But in the case of India it would have to be a voluntary and gradual movement instead of a brusque and precipitate one.

The kind of safeguards we have looked for in the past are ~~impossible and are double-edged~~ *natural as transitional stage* swords ~~that are more likely to cut our own throats than be sources of protection or combat~~. Separate electorates, weightage etc. are all ~~too unnatural and~~ artificial: ~~besides they weaken our natural~~ *& only means to an end.* strength in the North ~~and in Bengal, while they give us no advantage where we are in a~~ minority. Reservation of seats with joint electorates is still worse. It ~~means nothing~~ more or less in the long run than a grey colour which is neither one thing nor the other.

The British will more and more have to look after their own commercial interests and I doubt very much if they can, or care to, give us props to keep up the sort of temporary alliance advantageous to both, which the folly of Hindus forced on us ~~at the later~~ stages of the Round Table Conference.

Absolute reliance on the Hindus and following them like sheep would mean eventually that we would descend to the position of the ~~Jews in Germany at present, and we would have either to go over to [illegible] or~~ *untouchable* accept mere subordination *leading to absorption or depression*

These being the circumstances what are we to do?

To this there is only one answer: that we should take

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advantage of our impregnable position in the North, and what would be easily an impregnable position in Bengal, and get all the natural advantages we can out of it. What are those natural advantages? First, in all-India affairs we should be out and out Federalists, using all our influence so that our province gets at least such autonomy as the great Indian Princes will enjoy under Federation. Secondly, gradually - by changing the character of the army from a professional force to a territorial one and having for each province the kind of advantage that Bavaria had in the old German Empire (which great Princes will have in the new India Federation) - by using all our strength for this legitimate end make India what she really is i.e. a United States of Southern Asia rather than something on the model of present-day Italy or Germany. Internally we must strengthen our numbers by child welfare, by hygienic home life, by intensive education and by the upkeep of our national individuality as Indians within India. There must be keenest religious and secular education and we must open our arms as wide as possible to adopt members of the depressed classes.

All this will need money and we are economically weaker than our Hindu neighbours. Here is the crux of our policy: How are these things to be carried out? In self-interest, if for no other reason, our attitude should be hardest possible political work on the lines of moderate State

socialism, a policy that will get for us the sympathy of many depressed and poor Hindus as well as being in touch with the world movement - even in such reactionary countries as Germany and Italy. Our members in all the provinces (and especially in Bengal) should always be on the side of putting as many taxation burdens as possible on the upper and middle classes and reducing as much as they can <u>indirect</u> taxes, which fall generally on the poor. With this constant help not only for education and social work but for hygiene, child welfare, proper nursing schemes etc. etc. all should be carried on by the State. If the taxation gets too heavy put it on the shoulders of the upper and middle classes, saving the poor, ~~who are mostly Moslems~~.

But this alone will not satisfy. The problem of indebtedness will have to be faced, and it will be a big plank, politically, of our programme.

Our people are in debt. The whole world has taken this up. Italy and Germany have practically clean-swept the burdens from the debtor. France has removed four-fifths of it. In America 40% has been knocked off and practically all the State legislation has been to free the debtor (which is the majority) from the grasp of the capitalist and money-lending minority. This being the case we have to start a real ~~Moslem~~ party with a semi-Socialist programme throughout each province - a purely Federalist programme for the Centre.

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In India there two alternatives by which to improve the position of the Moslems and remove their indebtedness. The simplest would be a one shilling rupee (say 20 to the pound sterling). This would go a long way, without unduly worrying the capitalist, to remove Moslem indebtedness. The other alternative is intensive wiping off of contracts. Of the two I much prefer the cheap rupee as it will help our industries and will get Hindu support too. But we will be up against the British who want an expensive rupee for their own commerce. Whether we should make it our national policy to fight for a cheap rupee (and its result of building up our industries) or go for the law of contract and revision of debts is a question of practical politics. ~~It is not for a thinker like me to solve this, but for fighters like those on the spot.~~

In Bengal we should make it our national policy to go for abolition of permanent settlement which, once done away with, will enormously help the position of the Moslem labouring classes in the country.

To ~~resume all I have written: in my opinion~~ sum up:-

1.) The only safe Moslem policy is intensively to keep our individuality and improve our economic position - not by foolish and vague appeals to the non-existent wealthy but by intensive State socialism ~~(to be called~~ or nation-building ~~or anything else you like)~~ making the State pay for it through taxation of the

upper and middle classes. So much the worse for them if they are brought to the level of the poor in a few generations, for that is what is happening in all highly civilised countries.

2.) Imperial policy: intensive co-operation with such elements as work for the United States of India rather than an imperial and unitary India.

3.) The Indian Army to be territorialised and placed under the control of the provinces gradually and its professional character done away with or made national protective force.

4.) Cheap rupee. OR revision of debts doing away with the permanent settlement in Bengal and high taxation of landlords - in that province especially.

5.) Intensive teaching of child welfare and conversion of such members of depressed classes as are willing to come - to be worked through our religious leaders.

After nearly 45 years of study and mixing with every kind of politician all over the West, willy nilly I am driven to offer this programme as the only one that can save the Moslems of India in the long run.

With the realisation of our position in Pakestan and Bengal we could do away with all our props in a few years, and we would be in a strong position because in Pakestan we would have to whistle and rule, and in Bengal (if this policy is carried out with adult or manhood suffrage and moderate State socialism - by the State here meaning the provincial resources to be used for the benefit of the poor and the public) - with

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such a policy even Bengal will become a second Pakestan.

In the rest of India we should keep quiet and obey and follow the majority as well as gradually emigrate, if we can, to such openings as are offered by cultivation in the North and in Punjab and Sind.

I have purposely not marked this letter "Private", because if you wish you can show it to anybody.

Our Indian patriotism, of course, should never leave any doubt and our Hindu countrymen must realise that the welfare of India as a whole - though we are a minority - is as dear to us as to them. We yield to no-one in our desire (which happens to be also our own interest) to raise the economic position of the poor throughout the country and by industries which are dependent on cheap rupees in terms of sterling to make the country as a whole self-supporting.

Do whatever you like with this letter, but the more I think the more I am convinced that this line of action alone is our salvation. There is no other.

Yours ever,

Agakhan

P.S.
I go to Geneva next month to lead the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations Assembly.

Private & Confidential

374.

1, Brockhurst
Simla, E.
14 - 8 - 1935

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter.

I have put up a note regarding the exemption of Muslims from Arms Act as far as swords are concerned. I think it is a good case and I am sure H.E. will be sympathetic.

As regards Shahidganj Mosque the Sikhs have now regularised their position by taking the sanction of the MC for building the other wall.

The weather here is very foul.

Zafrulla has come back. I hear Jagdish Parshad goes on 3½ months leave, his wife is ill and Ram Chandra may officiate in Bajpai's place.

Nasim was here for 10 days and went back yesterday.

Delimitation Committee will be here in early October. So we shan't be able to go down till 10th Oct. or Oct., 25th, they will consider Punjab case in Simla. I propose to try and have Jhang and Gujranwala taken away from Rawalpindi Landholders Constituency. I may not succeed but there is no harm in trying.

The European officials are one and all sympathetic towards Muslims in this affair. The law does not seem to have given them a chance to help Muslims regarding Shahidgunj Mosque because Sikhs have decree in their favour. The Sikhs bought over the مجاور in charge of Tomb. He had decamped and can't be found I am told.

With kindest regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

P.S.

I would advise against your coming to Lahore. Crowds do not seem to listen to anyone. Ahrar non-Ahrar fights take place at all meetings. By early Oct things will be in a quieter and saner mood and when you come to Lahore you will first get first hand

and full knowledge of things and then will be in a position to make up your mind. It is essential that you should have complete rest for another month or so and build up your health.

Private

375. Simla,
16. 8, 1935

My dear Mian Sahib,

The post which you fought so hard last year to secure for me permanently is to come this September to me for a few months. Kunwar Sahib has had to ask for leave because of the state of his wife's health and I have been asked to act for him. The announcement will be made in due course but I have ventured to write to you about it in advance because I know that the news will please you. The goldsmith who fashions the first links in a chain but has to leave it unfinished has an interest in the completion of his hard work. The chain, if it is sentient, feels gratitude always towards its first maker. Mine is the gratitude of the chain in this simile.

Nasim was here for a change. He had tea with me last Saturday and expressed a wish to be transferred to Delhi. I have written to Johnson and hope that it may be possible to arrange this.

With best wishes to all of you in which my wife joins,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

G. S. Bajpai

P.S.

Ramchandra will act for me as Secretary;
I am glad that this chance has come his way.

GSP

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376. Simla,
16th August, 1935.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I had a very strenuous tour and was not able to send a reply to your three letters any earlier as even after my return to Simla I have

been extremely busy clearing off arrears, and, in any case, I wanted to have a talk with H. E. before I could write to you.

The newspaper report with regard to Bhore's appointment as High Commissioner is not correct. I broached the matter with H. E. and he told me that Bhore had written to him asking him to let him know what the position was as he was being offered one or two good positions in London and he did not want to fall between two stools. (This shows that H. E. must have given some sort of promise to Bhore as the most suitable man for the post of High Commissioner and must have informed Bhore that he had written to Zetland to that effect.) It appears Bhore went to the India Office and told Findlater Stewart that H. E. had written to Zetland about him and that he wanted the matter settled. This seems to have upset the India Office and certainly did not help to raise Bhore in their estimation. However that may be, H. E. told me that Zetland wrote back to him to say that the present High Commissioner does not complete his term till some time in the Summer of 1936 and that the matter would be taken up when the Marquess of Linlithgow has had an opportunity of discussing it with me and is able to make a recommendation in consultation with me. I told H. E. that so far as I was concerned, I was willing to discuss it with him and that although I had not considered any individual for the appointment, I was most anxious to secure that the next appointment should go to a Muslim as no Muslim had so far been appointed High Commissioner. After Zetland's letter, however, he was not disposed to meddle any further with the matter, and that is how the matter stands.

As regards the Vice-Chairmanship of the I.C.A.R., H. E. finally told me this morning that he had discussed the matter with Jagdish Prasad and that the latter was most unwilling to put in a *locum tenens* for a few months as Bajpai has a lien on the post, and if a non-official were put in for a few months, it would give rise to all sorts of misunderstandings. I told him that in case Mohd. Nawaz was appointed, he was willing to come on the definite understanding that he would have to vacate after a year. H. E. said the misunderstanding would be caused to other people, and, from his manner, it appeared that he had agreed with Jagdish Prasad that during the

interval the appointment should go to Burt. I pointed out to him that the Commission had laid down that the Vice-Chairman should be an administrative officer and not an expert, but this did not seem to carry much weight with H. E., probably, for the reason that being committed on the one side, he cannot now withdraw from that position. He said, however, that if the Committee which is to determine the question of secretariat tenures came to some conclusion which enabled Bajpai to be fixed up elsewhere, he would be very happy to consider Mohd Nawaz for the post.

In the meantime, there has been one development in connection with Bajpai which you may have noticed in the papers. Lady Jagdish Prasad is suffering from appendix trouble as well as several stones in the bladder and has also a weak heart. An operation has been found necessary, but she has been advised that the operation should take place in Europe rather than in India. This necessitates Jagdish Prasad's taking leave, and his present arrangements are that he would sail from Bombay on the 20th of September and return probably on the 9th January. H. E. has agreed to let him go, and in case he goes, the arrangements will be that Bajpai will officiate as Member, Ramchandra will officiate as Secretary, and between the 20th September and the date of Hydari's return from leave, Yeatts will officiate as Joint Secretary. When Hydari returns from leave, he will take over as Joint Secretary.

We are about to set up a special Tariff Board to consider the question of protective duties for the textile industry in order to implement our undertaking to Lancashire—that the question would be examined and the duties brought down to a level which should ensure adequate protection to the textile industry, but should not be any higher. It has been decided to appoint Sir Alexander Murray, who was a businessman in Calcutta till lately, as Chairman of the Tariff Board, and one of the members will be Ramaswami Mudaliar. The last Board which conducted the inquiry into the condition of the woollen industry was composed of Wiles, Fazal Rahimtoola and Bathija. Wiles has become Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust and Bathija is anxious to go back to Behar where he is being offered some suitable post.

Fazal wanted to be made Chairman of the Tariff Board and, as a matter of fact, is at present Chairman of the Board which is conducting an inquiry into the classification of paper. The special Board to which I have referred above is more or less an Arbitration Board between Lancashire and the textile industry in India, and even Fazal recognised that a man of outstanding qualities might be necessary as Chairman of this particular Board. His contention, however, was that he should be given an assurance that he would be appointed permanent Chairman of the Board after this inquiry was over. The Government of India are unable to give him that assurance as they do not contemplate the appointment of a permanent Chairman of a temporary Board. They have definitely decided that the question of Chairman must, in each case, depend upon the inquiry upon which the Board is engaged and the personnel of the Board. In any case, his attitude is that he is not willing to serve on this special Board and would prefer to take leave during the period that the Board is occupied in making its iuquiry. I have given him time till Monday to let me know definitely whether he wants to go on leave or wants to serve on this Board. If he does not desire to serve on this Board, I shall have to find a Muslim to serve on the Board. The inquiry is likely to take from 3 to 4 months and, as you are aware, the pay is Rs. 3,000/- a month. As there is no immediate prospect of Mohd Nawaz's being appointed to the I.C.A.R., I am thinking of putting him on this Board in case Fazal drops out.

H. E. told me this morning that Sir John Anderson is again worried about the Muslim position in Bengal. He thinks the Muslims in Bengal are all at sixes and sevens and that somebody ought to make an attempt to bring about some solidarity in their ranks. He asked H. E., when the latter was at Calcutta recently, to arrange that either you or I should go down and talk to the Muslims. I told H. E. this morning that I could not go earlier than the end of December. He then asked me to write to you and inquire whether it would be possible for you to undertake a journey to Calcutta towards the end of October and to bring about some sort of organization of the Muslims there. He said he would be very grateful if you were able to help.

I do hope that the improvement in your health which you have happily been able to effect at Abbottabad might enable you to undertake the journey when you return from Abbottabad to Lahore.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Zafrullah

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377. "Dilnawaz"
Dalhousie,
20th August, 1935.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of 13th. You have become a great philosopher indeed and are inclined to treat all matters philosophically; but you should not forget that you are a social being and a member of society. Therefore, you cannot help being worried, so long as you are alive, even if you withdraw from public life. However, I agree with you that you should avoid worry, so far as you can, in the interest of your health.

Mumtaz will leave here on the 14th or the 15th of the next month and sail from Bombay on the 20th. He gives his Salaam.

Towards the end of May last Bakhshi Tek Chand went to Simla and is probably yet there.

It is the medicine of the Hakim Sahib, and not the climate of Dalhousie, which is keeping me well. I feel better than I ever felt during the past 10 years; but all this is due to the treatment I am going through. On our return to Lahore, I will have you treated by the Hakim Sahib, even against your will.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahab-ud-Din

P. S.

The enclosure[1] speaks for itself. If you agree, please advise and guide.

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1. Not available in the Fazl-i-Husain papers.

378. Bungalow No. 19,
Abbottabad,
26th August, 1935.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 22nd enclosing a note on Punjab Legislative Assembly Landholders Constituencies. I am afraid I do not agree with you so far as 'Pindi and Multan divisions are concerned. That in one case the voting strength is 500 and in the other 1181 so that there may be no disturbance of divisional boundaries is a position which cannot possibly be defended. Why not take away Lyallpur from Multan division and add it to 'Pindi division ? In that case the distribution will be 900 and 781. This may make Multan division too small; add Sialkot to it and you get 843, thus leaving Lahore also with 902. My views on the subject are incorporated in the accompanying note. I believe this is the fairest and the most impartial way of forming constituencies. I am afraid the Government's proposals are not based on any principle and violate many principles, *e.g.*, unnecessary subtraction and addition. They are complicated without any corresponding gain to any body except perhaps some imaginary gain to an individual or a clique. I am sending a copy of this note to Muzaffar Khan as well. There does not seem to be any occasion to treat this as a party or factional or a clique matter.

My advice to you is not to send in the note you sent me either in your own name or in any body else's name. It is sound so far as Ambala and Jullunder constituency is concerned. It is not unsound so far as Lahore is concerned, but it is distinctly unsound and unjust so far as Rawalpindi and Multan constituencies are concerned. You do not gain in prestige or influence by urging manifestly unreasonable proposals.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

To

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroze Khan Noon, M.A.,
Minister for Education,
Brockhurst No. 1
Simla East.

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379. Bungalow No. 19
Abbottabad,
26th August, 1935.

Dear Muzaffar Khan,

My attention has been invited to Punjab Legislative Assembly Landholders Constituencies as propossd by the Local Government. I remember having had a talk with Sikandar on the subject long ago. Frankly, I do not see that the proposals are sound. I do not know their genesis, so may not be able to do justice to them. Without this knowledge of their genesis an impartial critic cannot help being struck by the unnecessary complication and unequal distribution of voters when it is not unavoidable. My views are incorporated in the accompanying note. The success or failure of a party or a clique depends upon organization, and distribution of constituencies might be made absolutely independently of such considerations. This is the advice I have given to those who drew my attention to it. If there is something in the genesis of these proposals which in your opinion makes them preferable to the suggestions made in my note, I shall be very glad to hear of it. This is I believe your case, and if you show my note to His Excellency I have no objection to it; but, inasmuch as it [is] your case I will not send it on to him myself.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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380. Bungalow No. 19
Abbottabad,
27th August, 1935.

Dear Zafrullah,

Herewith two notes. One is on the Punjab Legislative Assembly Landholders Constituencies. It embodies my views on the subject.

Para 4 contains criticism of the provincial Government's proposals. What do you think of it? I have sent copies of it to Firoz and Muzaffar. There is nothing confidential about it. If it finds its way to the Local Government or to the Delimitation Committee no harm will be done. At the same time it is not a matter of any very great importance.

The second note is on a rough draft bill sent to me by Ghulam Bikh. It contains only general observations and advice as to the right tactics to be adopted for legislation on the point of apostasy. I devoted some time to the study of this matter in 1905-6. Hakim Mir Nur-ud-Din Sahib also wrote on the subject then. However, that is a part of the case which does not arise at present.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, M. A.,
Commerce Member,
The Retreat,
Simla.

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381.

Bungalow No. 19,
Abbottabad,
28th August, 1935.

Dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 20th.

The proposal is that the towns with a population of 5000 and above be treated as urban area instead of towns with a population of 7500 and above. The object of the proposal is to give a larger representation to urban areas than is allowed to them in the local Government's proposals. I have no objection to the population limit being altered from 7500 to 5000 but this does not mean that I agree with the reasoning contained in the note you have sent to me. The note is not free from inaccuracy; for instance, it says, "on the average the total Muslim population of towns forming part of each rural Muslim constituency ranges from 30 to 40 per cent. of the total

Muslim population of the constituency". If this were so, at least 30 per cent. of the total population of the rural constituencies would be residing in the towns with a population of 5000 and 7500 and it would be only fair that 30 per cent of the rural seats be allotted to urban areas in addition to those already allotted. This clearly shows that the statement quoted above is incorrect.

As to the line to be taken to achieve this object, there is no sense in having fixed population basis for separating urban from rural areas while all Municipalities, Small Town Committees, Noted Areas etc. should be brought in. I won't complicate matters, but simply say that 7500 be reduced to 5000.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

382. Bungalow No. 19,
Abbottabad,
29th August, 1935.

Dear Muzaffar.

Yours of the 21st.

As regards Hoshiarpur, if what you've written materialised it will be a very great achievement. I do not know which particular constituency you have in mind and what is the proportion of Rajput voters and other voters in it.

As regards Lahore disturbances and matters connected therewith, I am completely mystified and what I hear is most unpleasant and unbelievable; and I am most unwilling to give credence to it and am consequently suspending judgment till I have had a talk with you all. What passes the comprehension of an average Muslim in the Punjab or anywhere in India is the differential treatment of the two communities. It may be that there is no differential treatment; if so, then the position should be made clear to the Muslim public. If there is, and there is justification for it, then that justification should be given and made clear so that most, if not all, of the reasonable people may feel convinced and not harbour resentment However, these are matters which one cannot pursue by correspondence and I am not well enough to take them up.

I think it would help everybody if leading Muslims in the Punjab seriously take up the possibility of leadership in the future on the assumption that my health is not good enough to permit my returning to public life and that Sikandar on account of his commitments elsewhere is not available. Who are the likely persons under these circumstances to constitute the Muslim section of the Cabinet and who will be their leader ? Will there be sufficient talent to enable them to be the predominant partners in the Cabinet? Who are the likely persons amongst the non-Muslims to be the members of the reformed Cabinet ? I have asked friends to tackle these questions seriously and not indulge in platitudes about my being absolutely necessary and sore [sic.]. I very much appreciate these compliments, but I want my friends to put aside compliments for the time being and to proceed to tackle this problem in a business-like fashion.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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383. Abbottabad,
5th September, 1935.

Dear Muzaffar,

Yours of the 1st. Thanks for the enquiries that you have been making. I think the course of action you have in mind is the only suitable one to adopt and I'll be glad to hear when something is fixed up.

As to Muslim affairs in Lahore and outside Lahore, so far as I can sense it there is a spirit of resentment and feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the Muslims and it is growing. The grievance seems to be that the Government is afraid of the Sikhs and in consequence is treating Muslims badly, that while Muslims must be law-abiding the Sikhs need not be. I feel sure that if His Excellency the Governor came to know that there is such a feeling amongst the Muslims and that is already widespread and is growing both in intensity and in the number of people affected thereby he would address his mind to devise means of checking it. It is obvious that the Sikh attitude is

one definitely of opposition to all constituted authority and of defiance of law. The spirit permeating the community is of Bhagat Singh and the entire nationalist India admires that spirit and therefore the Sikh community, and it is not probable that any favours shown by the Punjab Government to the Sikhs would take them away from that position and that policy which they consider far more valuable and far more in keeping with their ideas of self-importance than to be exchanged for a few favours shown to them by the Punjab Government. On the other hand, Muslim support of the Punjab Government and of the Government of India may not seem so very necessary just now but it would be a mistake to consider it unnecessary tomorrow, and no wise ruler will be justified to alienate that support. I am sure that H. E. the Governor takes the same view as I have tried to express above. I think it is your duty to bring this aspect of the matter to his notice. Not that he is likely to be unaware of it but to enable you to discuss the matter with him and study the present day situation in the Punjab in the light of this general policy. I have, contrary to my practice, touched upon this subject because the rumours that reach me here are very disturbing and I should not like the high reputation in which the Punjab Government has been held since 1920 to be in any way tarnished.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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384. Abbottabad,
6th September, 1935.

Dear Syed Habib,

Yours of the 4th September. It is true that I received several letters from you,—of 26th August, 15th August, 7th August, 6th August, 29th July, 27th July and did not answer them. The reason for my not answering them was that your letter of the 29th July made me feel that it was best to discontinue correspondence. My friends and acquaintances know that I detest flattery, but perhaps they do not know that I have an equally deep-rooted objection to being

intimidated by any one. In your last letter, *i.e.* of the 4th September you ask me for my views on the 'Pindi programme and say that an opposition by your paper to that programme will mean the death of your paper.

As regards the Shahid Ganj mosque affair and its developments and the present position I am afraid I feel that I do not know the facts, the Punjab Government's position and its attitude towards various other matters which have arisen out of this incident. I hear conflicting reports and rumours and I am simply mystified and form no opinion till I am sure of the facts. The whole thing appears to be a mystery to me, Therefore I am not in a position to guide you or guide the community till I am possessed of facts from the beginning right up to now. It is too great a responsibility to take in my shattered condition of health. If my health were good, long before now I would have been in Lahore to study the situation and form an opinion and do what I could.

On the general question of recourse to civil disobedience by Muslims in the Punjab in the month of September 1935 you know my opinion very well indeed. It is definitely and categorically against recourse to civil disobedience and that not only on the ground that I have been always opposed to the use of this method of political agitation but for the following definite reasons :—

Firstly, civil disobedience has been tried during the last 15 years throughout India and has failed in all cases and in all provinces with the possible exception of the Sikhs in the early years of the 1926 decade. The Muslim proposal now..............

[Incomplete]

(Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain)

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385. Abbottabad,
6th September, 1935.

Dear Chothu Ram,

Yours of the 3rd September *re.* Abdul Ghani's contribution to the Press on party politics in the Punjab. You should not reply to it

and you should ask Ahmad Yar and Riyasat Ali not to reply to it and carry on the controversy. There is a great deal of truth in what Abdul Ghani has said and the object is for suitable assurance being given privately within the party.

Since this is a statement published in the public press I will arrange for a suitable exposition of the creed of the party relating to firstly the tribal or caste distinction and secondly residential qualification, village or town. I do not find anything particularly wrong in the article. There is a certain amount of dissatisfaction in it, but there is also the under current of reasonableness and willingness for adjustment of interests. It would be fatal for the party to permit the majority faction, *i.e.* the members of the scheduled agricultural tribes, to assume an attitude of superiority or power towards smaller factions of the party belonging to the non-scheduled—agricultural tribes or residents of town areas. The party has always disowned racial and residential distinctions and has insisted upon faith, belief, object or practical programme of work. Moreover, amongst Muslims there is not that conflict of interests as exists amongst Hindus. Muslim urbanians have not ousted Muslim rurals from Government service. In fact the representation of rural Muslims in services is very considerable as compared with the Muslim urbans while in the case of Hindus the urban Hindus have ousted the rural Hindus and there is that conflict of interests.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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386.
Private

31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad,
9th September, 1935.

My dear Guru,

I was delighted to receive your letter. It does not hold out hopes of your resuming the thankless task of organising the Muslims of the Punjab, but there is just a glimmer of hope and satisfaction in

a few passages, and I feel that it might be possible for you to emerge from your retreat, reinvigorated and refreshed, ready for the fray, and determined to maintain those traditions of purity, honesty and selfless devotion to public interest which is your noble contribution to the India of today. It has been my proud privilege to be associated with you in a most humble and insignificant capacity, and I know from what little I have been able to glean from that happy and precious intercourse, that you alone can save the situation. The *Statesman* of yesterday's date echoed the same sentiments. The Ahrars as well as the opponents will end like Saturn, devouring their own children, and the Muslim Punjab, which has lost frightfully in morale, prestige, influence and integrity will become the laughing stock of every community. The Shaheedgunj affair has been most foolishly handled both by our party as well as by the Ahrars, while the Punjab Government made matters worse. By your coming back into public life, Muslim India will recover the position it has lost. Otherwise, we shall have Hazrat Maulana Murshidna Zafar Ali Khan, representing our party, and Ameer Shariat Ataullah Shah Bokhari representing the Ahrars. In the Punjab Government, the community has ceased to count.

Your lieutenants are scattered all over India, and will follow you anywhere. I am convinced that unless you resume your public activities, the situation in the Punjab will undergo a rapid process of deterioration, and the Muslim community will be broken up into numerous fragments. I have always been a believer in your star. The belief has now been fused into a conviction that the imperative need of the present times is the formulation of a definite party and its inflexible pursuit, by a man of your calibre. You will change the whole situation in a very short time.

I have now seriously taken in hand the writing of a book which I had promised to compose for Messrs Macmillan. It will be called, Introduction to the New Constitution of India, and will contain about 350 pages. There will be two chapters on the Round Table Conferences. Naturally the book will be based entirely on published

documents, and no private or secret document, conversation will be utilised. There will be pen-pictures of two of my heroes—Aga Khan and yourself—but they will be impressions of personalities. Special arrangements are being made for its sale in England, America and India. I finished the first chapter today. There will be sixteen altogether.

Yours affectionately,
Shafaat

———

387. Abbottabad,
10th September, 1935.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 7th September *re.* the Punjab Legislative Assembly Landholders Constituencies.

1. Your note has a few inaccuracies :—

(*a*) You say that 'Pindi District might contribute a hundred voters. This is impossible because in the existing electoral roll the 'Pindi district has only 35 and since the total electoral roll has gone down from 3500 to 2703 and the number of voters in every district has gone down it is not likely that Rawalpindi will be an exception; and it is safe to assume that there will be a reduction in this district as well and the number is likely to be round about 25.

(*b*) In Ambala and Jullunder division you say the total number will be 697. There is a miscalculation and the number is 674.

2. The total number of voters including the estimated figure for Rawalpindi being 2730 the unit for constituency would be 683. Ambala and Jullunder have 674, *i.e.*, only 9 less than the unit.

Lahore Division has 575, *i.e.*, 108 less than the unit.

'Pindi Division including 'Pindi district has 395—288 less than the unit.

Multan Division has 1021—388 in excess of the unit. In the Multan division Lyallpur has 293 voters and if Lyallpur was taken out

of Multan division the voters left in the Multan Division would be 728, *i.e.* 45 in excess of the unit which is nothing very much. If figures for various Tahsils of Lyallpur district are obtained, it will be possible to allot a Tahsil or two to Lahore Division and two or three Tahsils to Rawalpindi division to enable both to have voters within 30 of the unit.

3. Your suggestion of taking away Montgomery and Jhung from Multan division leaves Multan division with less than the unit and makes Lahore in excess of the unit and therefore is open to the criticism that it breaks up the Multan division to a large extent than is absolutely necessary while the removal of Lyallpur district only makes the least possible interference with the territorial distribution of divisions.

Your proposal is open to other objections as well. If you get the figures for each Tahsil of Lyallpur district showing their distribution amongst the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus it will not be difficult to make a sound distribution into constituencies.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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388. Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Bombay.
11th September, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I attempted twice to run up to Abbottabad for a few hours during my brief stay at Wah but was thwarted on both occasions. The first time on account of sudden and unexpected invasion by a horde of visitors and subsequently by a telegram from Bombay recalling me earlier than I expected. I am very sorry indeed to have missed the pleasure of seeing you.

My departure for England had to be postponed again as Taylor is proceeding on leave under medical advice and the Governor is not due back till sometimes in November. I may be able to leave sometime in November after Sir Osborne Smith returns.

The office will move over to Calcutta at the end of this month and I am dreading my return to that dreadful climate. Bombay has been much kinder. I had almost got rid of my trouble and was hoping that the process of recovery would be completed during the voyage to England. However Calcutta would be comparatively pleasanter in October than when I was there last.

I hope you and yours are quite fit and flourishing.

With kind and respectful regards.

Yours sincerely,
Sikandar Hayat

Personal & Confidential

389.

8, Lansdowne Road,
Holland Park, W. 11
Park 5487.
12-9-35

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Dear Azim must be with you now and very happy to be with all the members of his family, after three long years of separation. His mother and yourself must also be very delighted that he is back with you. His result is not out yet, but if it so pleases God that it is favourable we will send you the information by cable as soon as it is available.

I am very glad to learn that your health is so much better for the rest and change you have had at Abbottabad. I believe you will be going back to Lahore in October. I do hope you may be able to do something to solve the tangle which has resulted from the troubles in Lahore over the Shahidgunj Mosque. I am very sorry to see that the situation is getting very complicated.

I wonder if you are in touch with the question of a successor to Sir B. N. Mitra as High Commissioner. You may have seen a mention in some papers in India that there is a possibility of a Moslem being appointed. In fact, I believe, it was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which wrote that though Sir Joseph Bhore was in the running and efforts were being made to have a Moslem appointed and then

two names were mentioned, mine and Liaqat's as possible men. I do not know of any effort having been made here in that direction. Perhaps the paper meant to refer to some effort in India. So far as the paper is concerned it may be merely a feeler thrown out to strengthen efforts in favour of Sir J. Bhore. It is true, however, that if any effort is made, it should be made by representative Moslems in India to press the claim of the community, for a turn being given to a suitable Moslem. If then the Government of India moves in the matter and sends one or two Moslem names, the suggestion may be considered sympathetically here.

I do wish the question had arisen while you were there.

Please give my affectionate regards to Azim and salams to Lady Sahiba.

Yours sincerely,
Abdul Qadir
[Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir]

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390. Abbottabad,
13th September 1935.

Dear Muzaffar,

Thanks for sending me the list of proposed constituencies in the Punjab. I have looked at the Landholders' Constituencies only and in view of the revised list of the electorate and revised proposals, have to revise my views which are incorporated in the accompanying note.

At to the Rawalpindi Division etc. constituency, you say it was intended for me. Well, I should not like that idea to influence its constitution, whether Jhung or Lyallpur attached to Rawalpindi division, if I am really wanted I would be elected in either case and if I am not wanted, friends would be forthcoming to get me defeated in one case as well as in another. The inequality of the electorate in the case of Rawalpindi and Multan divisions and again between these two and the Ambala and Lahore Division constituencies is too great and gerrymandering is quite obvious.

To what extent it is necessary and therefore justified is a matter of opinion. Even if in the case of Ambala and Lahore Division

constituencies gerrymandering is justified, the same plea cannot be urged in the case of Rawalpindi-Multan Division constituency. It is not a point on which I have any personal feeling, but I do think it is best not to overdo things.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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391. Simla,
17th September, 1935.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I arrived here on the 15th and am leaving for Rohtak just now.

When I was having a talk with the Reforms Commissioner I touched upon the injustice that had been done to Rural Hindus. He told me that what Malik Barkat Ali had written on the urban rural question and my answer thereto were both to be placed before the Delimitation Committee as suitable material on the problem. This means that Sheikh Abdul Ghani's letter will also be included as an item of the data. That being so, an answer to this criticism becomes all the more necessary.

I had retouched my draft and even amplified it in two places. An answer by a Muslim may have to be couched in a more subdued tone, but I feel that it ought to be given publicly.

The Delimitation Committee arrives here on the 20th. Memoranda have been called for by the Punjab Government by the 20th. I am preparing one. There is no time to have the benefit of your advice before submission. But I will ask to be examined orally also for any further elucidation, if necessary, of the points which I desire to make. I will send you a copy and will wait for your advice so that, if necessary, I may modify my position at the time of oral examination.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

P.S.

I saw the Governor on the 15th.

When may I expect you at Lahore?

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392. 31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
19th September, 1935.

Dear Guru,

Your letter is most encouraging, and your numerous followers—I am not a follower; but a worshipper—will be delighted to hear that there is a possibility of your coming into the field again. Fortune can untie the knot and restore Muslim solidarity. It is quite impossible for an outsider to hazard an opinion on events in the Punjab, but my study of the situation is that our own group is adopting very precipitate measures. Either do a thing, or not do it at all. If one does it one must put first every ounce of one's energy into the task. This is precisely what we do not seem to be doing now. The announcement of civil disobedience movement on 20th instant was a most imprudent step, as I am afraid the demonstrations will fizzle out tomorrow. The movement should be directed into constitutional channels. *Lathi Bazi* on both sides—the Ahrars and non-Ahrars—will pay neither party. These are jottings of an ignoramus, and we have no doubt whatsoever that when you go back to Lahore and study the situation, you will be able to evolve a policy that will be followed by every prominent Muslim not only in the Punjab, but also in India. When you have some time to spare, I hope you will devote it to All-India affairs. But the Punjab must come first, as it is the key province of India.

My book is progressing satisfactorily. It is a ticklish undertaking, but I do not wish to rub other peoples' corns unnecessarily.

I am leaving tomorrow for Simla to be present at a party which I had fixed for Zafrullah on 21st. From there I proceed to a fairly extensive tour in my province, covering about 15 districts. I have had little time to maintain contact with my men and supporters, owing to my frequent absence in the R. T. C. I hope to return on October 12. Meetings and other functions have been arranged at every place. It will be a bracing and strenuous week, and will tone up the work of our party.

With the kindest regards and deepest affection,

Ever yours affectionately,
Shafaat

393. 2, Goulding Road,
Camp Lahore,
19th September, 1935.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I have sent the note regarding Landholders' Constituencies to the Reforms Commissioner with an endorsement that it should be placed before the Delimitation Committee. Perhaps I was unable to make myself clear in my previous letter. It was to remove your impression about gerrymandering and to show that there was no selfish motive behind it that I mentioned about the candidature in the 'Pindi Constituency and not to influence its constitution. It was quite natural that I being the author of the scheme should defend myself!

I am glad to see that you are satisfied about the decision regarding swords. The Bill regarding Graveyards has been drafted and Firoz is now busy in connection with the Waqf Bill. S. Muhd Nawaz Khan of Kot has the fullest support in the protection of his private rights and a letter to that effect was sent by Govt. as soon as they heard about the unfortunate affair at Kot.

You know all about the Shah Chiragh Mosque. Everything possible is being done by Govt. to placate the Muslims; but some how or other the agitation is increasing every day. I do not know how far this would be in the interests of the country at this very critical juncture. Other communities are taking advantage of the present attitude of the Muslims and a systematic propaganda is being carried on both in Lahore and at Simla. The action of the Muslims in turning out Sikh families from across the border and the publicity given to that incident by the Muslim press has had disastrous effects on the Sikhs and other communities. I shall be most grateful for further advice in this matter.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Muzaffar

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394. The Daily "Hmadam"
Lucknow,
20th September, 1935.

My Dear Sir Fazl-e-Husain,

I must apologise for being so late in answering your letter but I was away on a tour of my Zamindari and on my return have been laid down with Malaria. I am sorry that my remarks caused you annoyance but they were not written in a carping spirit. I did not mean to criticise you but expressed my disappointment that you were keeping away at a very critical juncture when the Musalmans were asking for Leadership. I am glad however that your return will synchronise with peace. In my humble opinion the best plan would be to gather at some central place for instance Lucknow and decide a uniform policy for the Indian Musalmans. This is not only my opinion but the opinion of all U. P. Leaders. If you can approve of the suggestion then please let me know and I will address other friends in the matter. U. P. has been silently drifting towards the Congress and a gathering of men like yourself will prove very helpful to them.

I reurn the cuttings as desired.

Yours sincerely,
Abdullāh

———

395. Abbottabad,
21st September, 1935.

My dear Muzaffar,

Yours of the 19th September.

The situation in the Punjab is fast deteriorating and you and His Excellency cannot be unware of it. What are the causes of this deterioration and how can this deterioration be checked and the lost position recovered ? An enquiry into the first, *i.e.*, the causes of deterioration, is important in order to find suitable measures to secure the object in view.

The position was, though one of tension, still quite sound up till 1932. The so-called communal decision was taken up by the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab for agitation against the Muslims and

the Government. This agitation was allowed to proceed and become intense and, in the course of it, threats of defiance of law, breach of peace and bloodshed were hurled about. Still Government took no notice of all these things. The Muslims were on the defensive, and during the last three years it appears that the policy of Government had been to do everything to appease the Hindus and Sikhs, probably because Government felt that, as the Hindus and Sikhs were already very sore on account of the communal decision, therefore every effort should be made to please them; and in keeping with this policy the treatment meted out to Muslims was one of indifference and possibly, in some cases, of injustice. Again, probably due to the reason that the Muslim community has been favoured in the matter of the communal decision and therefore no harm will be done by taking them a peg or two down. During this period the extremists among the Muslims felt that the Muslims were down in their luck and that a reign of terror was not far off. The Hindus and Sikhs were organizing and intimidating others; they should also take hand in this venture. They constituted themselves into the Ahrars. They had the support, direct or indirect, of many prominent Muslims for different reasons and it is believed of many Government officials. This put them in funds and made them organized. The Ahmadi business came to them as a God-send and there again many influential people and, possibly some Government officials, helped them. The spirit of defiance of law among the Muslims was thus developed and whether the leadership of those who have imbibed the spirit remains with the Ahrars or someone else is immaterial. As I always pointed out to H. E. the Governor and my friends, it was dangerous to play this game. The Muslim community is treading the path which the Hindus and the Sikhs have been treading in the past. The animus displayed by the Muslim community against the sister communities is only a reaction to the spirit which the two communities displayed to the knowledge of the Government towards the Muslim community during the last three years. The Punjab Government was warned again and again in 1933 and 1934 and what is happening today is the natural outcome of what was happening in 1933 and 1934.

The situation has been made much worse by the incidents of the last two or three months relating to Shahidganj mosque affair. I am very glad to hear from you that His Excellency the Governor is anxious to do all that can reasonably be expected for the Muslim community. This is very reassuring, for to an outsider ignorant of the real happenings it does not appear that the Moslem community is having a fair deal. It does not also appear that the Government has treated the two communities in the same way. If this impression is wrong, why are not the real facts disclosed and made public? For instance, was there a shrine of Shahqaqu in the close vicinity of the demolished mosque? If there was not, why not say so, and why encourage the Muslims to litigate and array their forces and make the animosity between the two communities worse than it is at present? If, on the other hand, there was a shrine and it has been demolished by the Gurudwara Committee people, as they demolished the mosque, why not they see that the shrine is restored? Why make it necessary for the Muslims to litigate? I never believed in putting off the evil day. If a situation has to be met, the sooner it is met the better. But Government as a rule want to put off coming to a decision as long as possible and, in many cases, have regretted it.

Frankly, the prevailing idea amongst the Muslim community today is that the Punjab Government is bent upon acting unjustly and unfairly towards them; that it is afraid of the Sikhs; that the combination of the Sikhs and the Hindus is too much for the Government to tackle and that in the discomfiture of the Muslim community both the Hindu-*cum*-Sikh combination and many Government officials see an escape from the possibility of a Moslem Government being established under the reforms. What justification there is to these impressions it is impossible for me to say. As I have told you and Firoz over and over again, I feel I do not understand at all the happenings of the last two or three months and that the letters I have received from you and from Firoz instead of clearing matters have been mystifying and therefore I have, much to my regret, been postponing understanding them till I am in Lahore towards the middle of October. No end of people write to me and appeal to me and do all sorts of things and the papers say why I do nothing and so on. But

since I am not in public life, and since my health does not permit my resuming public life, I have refused being pushed into this controversy.

I am glad to hear about the views of the Government about the Kot affair. I was very much afraid that if Government took up an attitude inconsistent with their professions in the Shahidganj affair, it may prove to be the last straw on the camel's back. What should be done ?

(1) to deal with the situation and the extremist section of the Muslims having got out of hand through the mistaken policy of some Muslim leaders and the Government? The way adopted of externment orders will not do. It has been tried before and it has failed invariably. It is for you and Firoz to start the constructive work of organisation and perfect it in a manner that will throw this section into shame and honestly and truthfully not to give encouragement to this section.

(2) For the Government to settle the matter of the Shahqaqu grave. In course of that a reasonable settlement about the demolished mosque is not impossible.

(3) To resume the policy of holding the balance even and not showing favours to one community at the expense of the other and thus creating resentment.

(4) To make it clear that there is no truth in the rumours or suspicion that the inter-communal trouble is not unwelcome to the official world.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Rohtak,

396. 22 September, 1933.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I received your letter with the enclosed note today. I decidedly prefer your note to mine as being more full of substance and dignity. Mine was characterised by a little controversial spirit and might have some antagonising effect upon urban Muslims. Yours is couched in more sympathetic, calm and persuasive language without the surrender of any point of principle or policy.

A meeting of the Provincial Franchise Committee will probably be convened towards the end of this month. If you permit I will hand over your note as mine to the Reforms Commissioner. Those who are intimately acquainted with yourself will probably make a right guess about its authorship. I will have a fresh copy of that note re-typed and have the usual prefixes to your name. You leave it without these prefixes and unless they are added the omission will give away the secret for a certainty.

I am also sending herewith a copy of a note which I have prepared for the Delimitation Committee. I despatched it yesterday otherwise I would have made a few changes in the light of your own note. However I have, on the whole, followed the lines indicated by you. I have kept the party squabbles out of the note as irrelevant to the subject. I have been a little bitter and even slightly indignified in referring to the anti-Government propensities of urban Hindus and have expressed some painful surprise at the undue generosity shown to them by Government. I have also made an allusion to the possibility—rather remote—of extreme views gaining the upper hand in the future Assembly in consequence of the over-representation of the urban Hindu element in it. I am rather doubtful about the wisdom of this. However, as I had no time to consult you on this point I have done it in spite of the fact that I had considerable misgiving in this connection.

I do not wish you to subject yourself to the strain of reading the whole of my note. Therefore, I have marked in red pencil the portions which alone you need go through.

I am feeling a little indisposed and have asked a friend to write this letter to my dictation.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt.,
Abbottabad.

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397. Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Bombay.
23rd September, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for yours of the 18th September. I am glad that your health has improved and trust that it will be further benefited during the next few weeks when Abbottabad climate is sure to be at its best. I am not a little disappointed at the pessimistic note in your letter where you mention a feeling of lassitude and lack of sufficient vitalily and energy to enable you to undertake public work and resume official duties. Apparently the present unwholesome atmosphere is responsible, at least partially, for making you take this gloomy view. I however sincerely hope that your forebodings will prove to be wrong and unjustified and you will soon feel vigorous enough to take over reins of official work and administration again.

It will be a misfortune for the province if it is deprived of your lead and sane and matured guidance. The recent happenings strengthen my misgivings about the future and unless you are prepared to take the lead and get into harness again I am afraid the Muslims will go under for ever from the very start. If you come forward I can assure you once again that there will be no dearth of reliable and efficient lieutenants to assist you in your work. What they need is a sound leader and clear and definite advice. The rest they can be depended on to do themselves. The present position is that they are like a rake of railway carriage without an engine. I do hope and earnestly wish that you will be able to change your mind on maturer thought. As for your health we all pray for your long life and strength to undertake the onerous task of guiding the destinies of the province during the initial critical period, to the difficulties of which the recent and deplorable lack of leadership has undoubtedly added.

As you say Calcutta is no place to live in during October but one has to put up with this and other inconveniences in service. That is why the sages have described it as "نکھد چاکری". As at present

arranged I expect to sail on the 21st or the 23rd of November. Sir Osborne Smith is due back on the 9th of November.

Taylor left on Saturday and was feeling more cheerful when he got on board the ship. His place has not been filled mainly for reason of expense. Since he is on leave on full pay it would have added considerably to the overhead charges to appoint another Dy. Governor on 5500/- and he would have been of very little use until had learnt the ropes and by then Taylor would be back.

When do you intend going down to Lahore ? Kindly let me know when you settle your date definitely.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikandar Hyat

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398. Abbottabad,
23rd September, 1935.

Dear Muzaffar Khan,

Yours of the 19th on Lahore.

I agree with you that the situation in the Punjab is fast deteriorating. I am very glad to hear from you that everything possible is being done by Government to placate the Muslims, but I may tell you that to those who are in the confidence of the Government and made aware of what it is that is being done to placate them it appears that there is nothing that Government could have done against a recalcitrant community which has not been done already and is not being done. As you say, somehow or other the agitation is increasing every day. This is perfectly true and as you say this is not in the interest of the country. Do you think it is in the interests of the Goverment? Sometimes it is considered that Government will benefit by political life in the country becoming very weak. This may be so, but this is not the view I hold. You ask for my advice. I do not know what the real facts are and nowadays under censorship and Government action against papers in the matter of forfeitures of securities, etc. one has no means of knowing the truth and the papers

don't [carry]correct versions of incidents. So, those outside are deprived of the means of knowing facts and ascertaining the view of the people. What views can they frame and what advice can they give? This is in nobody's interest. I saw in the papers something about two bills. I have seen the draft of one, if this is the one the communique has in view, and of the other thing I know nothing.

I had certain views and was going to send them on to you but it is altogether unsatisfactory to indulge in giving advice by letters in the matters of such grave importance and I therefore feel that I better wait till I see you and acquaint myself with the facts and opinions of others before forming my own and placing it at your disposal and of others.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

399. Abbottabad,
23rd September, 1935.

Dear Abdullah Khan,

Yours of the 20th.

So there is still something yielded by the zamindaris in U. P. to make it worth the while of the zamindars to go on tours to collect income and leave behind them the cultivator to set an example of patience to the rest of the world? No wonder, on your return you got malaria. May be it was His visitation over the zamindari system!

You apparently don't believe that I am ill and too weak to attend to anything,—even my little zamindari out of which I have to maintain myself, for my health will not permit my resuming my practice at the bar and I have no pension. However I am used to being misrepresented both by friends and foes and as I have had a great deal of appreciation and applause, most of it undeserved, I see no reason why I should resent being misrepresented or judged unfairly. Your suggestion that I should take up the leadership of Indian

Muslims and go to U. P. to give a strong lead to U. P. Muslims—I have no such aspiration and my health does not permit my undertaking such a gigantic task and I doubt whether I have the requisite ability and capacity for this great work. I formulated what I considered the right policy for Indian Muslims during the last five years because I was forced into the office and had to discharge the duties of that office to the best of my ability. Therefore what I did was not out of choice or liking, but simply certain duties were thrust upon me and I had to discharge them as best as I could and thereby lost what little was left to me of my health. Now there is not much of health to lose but still neither Islam nor my principles approve of suicide, and my attempting the task you suggest is tantamount to committing suicide. Moreover, U. P. is rich in leaders and the leaders of the Province in its affairs are better than an outsider. I wish you and them every success.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Personal & Confidential.

400. Abbottabad,
24th September, 1935.

Dear Sheikh Sahib,

Yours of the 12th September.

The question of the High Commissioner, London, was engaging my attention for some years past. At one time the Viceroy and the Secretary of State were believed to be definitely of view that the next incumbent should be a Muslim. This was in 1932-33. In 1934 the Viceroy began to waver, but still held out hopes. In 1935 a short while ago it is surmised that he definitely went against his former view and supported Bhore, but the Secretary of State did not agree and the matter has been put off for the new Viceroy in consultation with the new Secretary of State to settle. Under the circumstances it is difficult to get the Viceroy to move in the matter. During the

last 2 years, not only I have been persistent about it, but Muslim members of the Round Table Conference here and in England have been pressing the Viceroy and the Secretary of State hard for it. I had asked Umar Hyat also to see the Secretary of State and press him for it. I believe he did so. I thought you knew it, and those who discussed this matter had, amongst other names, mentioned your name as well. In the matter of filling appointments, the Viceroy has been thinking of discharging his commitments to individual Muslims rather than fill the posts more suitably, and if in every case he had succeeded, the result would have been from the Muslim point of view disastrous. The matter now rests in the hands of Linlithgow and Zetland. It is in the best interests of the Muslim community as well as the Government that a man who would fill the post suitably and be a credit to the post should fill it and it should not be felt that he is intellectually and culturally much below the standard of his two distinguished predecessors, otherwise it will do no credit to the Muslim community. In fact it will lower the prestige of the Muslim community in the eyes of the public men in England and in Europe. All that could have been done in the matter has been done by me already and I am sure Zafrullah has also tried. (*Incomplete*)

(Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain)

[To Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir]

401.

17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore,
25th September, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Government is not touching the Aukaf part of the trouble at all, nor are Government dealing with the Shahidganj affair. The Muslim graveyards Bill is the outcome of the complaints raised by Lahore Muslims from time to time that the Miani Sahib graveyard on Bahawalpur road has been encroached upon and nearly 2/3rds of it sold to the people by encroachers, and built upon. The measure which has now been drafted is with a view to protect future encroachments on graveyards. I shall send you a copy of the Bill as soon as it is printed. The final

copy has just come to me today. I am sending it to the Press. Three hundred copies will be printed and 200 will be distributed for eliciting public opinion. Thereafter the idea is to ask a private person *e.g.*, Muhammad Din Malik to pilot the Bill in the Legislative Council. I shall be grateful for any advice and guidance that you can give on the subject.

I am going back to Simla on the 30th evening for meetings of Delimitation Committee from the 2nd to the 3rd of October. I hope to return to Lahore on the 6th morning. Our offices close at Simla on the 3rd of October and reopen here on the 11th. From the 6th to 11th I may be going to Nurpur Noon. Father reaches here on the 30th instant from Simla. Muhammad Sher Khan is better but he is still getting slight temperature. He has just moved into a house of his own—7A, Chamba House Lane—where Diwan Abdul Hamid was living last year.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

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402. 31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad,
7th November, 1935.

Dear Guru,

I was relieved to hear that you were better. I had heard disquieting news about your illness, and we were all most anxious about your health.

I wish it had been possible for you to attend the meeting of the Court and Convocation of Muslim University, Aligarh, on the 17th and 18th instant. Dr. Ziauddin will make special efforts to invite you there, and I have no doubt that if your health permits, you will gratify the wish and desire of thousands of your admirers, friends and worshippers.

We ought to make the next visit of His Highness a unique success. It must be the year of his Golden Jubilee, and if he could visit a few places, such as Lahore, Aligarh, Allahabad, Calcutta and

Karachi, it will infuse new life into our work. I am going to Delhi on the 19th, and will have a chat with Zafrullah about it.

The first draft of the book is nearly ready, but I will have to revise it after my return from Delhi. Messrs Macmillan will have the MSS by the first week of January. It has involved tremendous strain, and I have had to work continuously in my chair from 8 A.M. till 10 P.M.

With kindest and sincerest regards,

I remain,
Ever yours,
Shafaat.

A comprehensive review of Indian Muslim politics and policy in India and abroad is a vital necessity. I feel, however, that if it is published, it will have a profound effect on Muslim India as Muslims will be exposed to the dangers of isolation and provincialism, after the introduction of provincial autonomy, and will lack that All-India feeling of Muslim solidarity and unity which inspired all of us for four long years—1930-1933. It was a wonderful example of Muslim unity in London, and unless we keep this ideal constantly in view and have a general policy and a common ideal which are at once practicable and inspirational, we shall all involve ourselves in the internecine struggle for power, ministerships, jobs and leadership. The Muslim Conference programme has been exhausted. It is empty of contents. I have been scratching my forehead for the last two years in a vain search for a new programme for Muslim India, but am like a blind man groping in the dark. *You alone can do it.* It will serve as a beacon light to all of us.

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403. 55, Rue Scheffer. XVII
Paris.
17th November, 1935.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Very many thanks for your interesting letter of 5th November.

I am indeed sorry to hear that you have not been well, and I do hope that a good rest will restore your health and energy.

My wife and I reach India on 10th January, and we go to Delhi the end of that month or early in February for about ten days. We will probably spend four or five days at the Viceroy's and four or five at Maidens. I look forward to seeing you and discussing all our problems fully then.

My wife sends her best remembrances to your wife and to your goodself.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Aga Khan

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404. 31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad,
21st November, 1935.

My dear Guru,

(1) I learnt from Sloan in Delhi on the 19th that Shadi Lal was trying for Chief Justiceship of Federal Court. Of course, he won't get it. But then he may be prepared to accept Puisne Judgeship of the Federal Court.

(2) Niamatullah informed me last night that he is trying to become Chief Justice of Kashmir. There is some foundation for this rumour, says Niamatullah, J.

I hope you are all right.

Shafaat Ahmad Khan

My book is finished. I will despatch it by Xmas to London to be printed there.

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405. New Delhi,
25th November, 1935.

Member of Council for Education,
Health & Lands,
India.

Personal

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your very appreciative letter of the 21st. I am glad you liked my address. H. E. also spoke in very generous terms

of it. I shall certainly speak to him as you have suggested. I have doubts, however, whether anything will come of it. You know the reasons.

Aligarh, however, seems to be recovering its good manners; the boys behaved splendidly while I was there.

Azim came to tea one day. He is a nice boy and I greatly liked his alert curiosity. Cambridge seems to have done him a lot of good. He will do you credit in the I. C. S. if, as I hope, he gets in. This is *not flattery*.

It is all right about the portrait; the dimesions of it do not matter much.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
G. S. Bajpai

406.

Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Calcutta.
27th November, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks for yours of the 24th. I am glad you are better now. No, Muzaffar has not written to me about your health. As a matter of fact I have not heard from him at all for over 6 weeks now. Apparently he must be preoccupied with Council work. I wonder why he enquired from Col. Harper Nelson about your health instead of making enquiries from you direct, unless you asked him to do so or the enquiry was made in your presence.

I am glad Arshad has returned home safely. I explained the position at length to his father when we met in Lahore sometime ago. Personally I think the chances of getting to the top are very remote and will become still more remote if the posts of local Managers are declared as Central posts. There is a possibility of these posts being filled later by persons already serving in other banks *e.g.* English

bank or the Imperial Bank on a five or more years contract. However if his father and you consider that it would be worth-while taking a chance I will do all I can to help him. He will of course have to begin at the lowest rung of the ladder which to a young man of his attainments might strike as incongruous.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

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407. مورخہ ۲۷ نومبر ۱۹۳۵ء

آگ اور قتل

جناب مولوی محمد ابراهیم صاحب میر السلام علیکم کے بعد گذارش ہے کہ جمعہ کو آپ نے مسلمانوں کی سیاسی جماعت کی سخت مخالفت کی ہے - اس روز ہماری پارٹی کا پریزیڈنٹ صاحب چونکہ کلکتہ گئے ہوئے تھے ورنہ آپ کو اسی رات قتل کردیا جاتا - ہمارے پریزیڈنٹ صاحب اب واپس آگئے ہیں مورخہ ۲۶ نومبر کی رات کو ۲ بجے ہمارا اجلاس ملتوی ہو گیا ہے ہم آپ کو واضح کر دیتے ہیں کہ اگر آپ نے اب احرار کانگرس یا وطن کو آزاد کرانے والی کسی پارٹی کی بھی آپ نے مخالفت کی تو پھر آپ سمجھ لے کر اسی دن یا رات کو آپ کے مکانوں کو آگ اور آپ کو قتل کر دیا جائے گا - والسلام

سیکرٹری پستول پارٹی

پ س

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408. 31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
30th November, 1935.

Dear Guru,

I do hope you are all right now. Allahabad is so very far from Lahore, but it has been our earnest wish that you and sister will honour our little hut here with your presence.

I met Azim in Delhi. The boy is brilliant, and will go far. I still mourn the death of your younger son at Cambridge. He was the plume of the family, but Azim has the making of a very fine

administrator. A middle class youth cannot enter politics at the start of his career, and if he gets into the I. C. S., as I hope and believe he will, he will make his mark.

I have just received a letter from Aga Khan. He is arriving next month.

Could we not utilise his visit, which fortunately, will be a comparatively prolonged one, by asking him to preside over the All-India Muslim Conference next March ? He gave us a lead on December, 31st, 1928 in Delhl. Could we not start a new page next year and evolve a federal programme for our community ? Unless some sort of lead is given, we shall be smothered up by provincialism, and our political entity will be lost. The Muslim League may continue to exist, as Jinnah would like to keep it intact, and no occasion should be provided which is likely to create friction between the two bodies, but there is no reason why His Highness should not preside over meetings of both the League and the Conference, which may be held on the same date, in Delhi, next March.

We can make this the largest concourse of Muslim India during the last seven years.

Shafi Daudi came here for a few hours, and then went to Delhi. His ideas are muddled, but he is prepared to work, and it would be a good thing if he could be utilised for propaganda work. He is a brilliant propagandist. I asked him to see you in Lahore. He went as far as Delhi.

The book is giving me considerable trouble. The revision is nearly half done. But it is not revision, it is reconstruction.

Yours affectionately,
Shafaat

409.

Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Calcutta.
7th December, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Please forgive me for a typewritten letter as I am awfully busy. I am glad to learn that your health is no longer giving you and your

friends any cause for anxiety. I was delighted to learn from Dr. Rahman that you are looking ever so much better.

I am also glad that you have got rid of your pessimistic mood and are now prepared to come out and lead the province once again. This is as it should be and I wish you every success.

I have to-day received informotion from Lahore regarding your proposal to pursuade the Muslim members of the Cabinet to proceed on leave. If Firoz had accepted similar advice early in the year Punjab would have fared much better and probably escaped much of the anxiety and trouble which unfortunately the Province had to face during the past few months.

I will try to come over to Lahore for a couple of days during the Christmas holidays with a view to talk things over with you.

Trusting that this will find you and yours quite well and flourishing.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K. C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt., etc.,
Empress Road.
Lahore.

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410.

39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
9th December, 1935.

My dear Sikandar,

I am most grateful to you for yours of the 7th, though your assumptions are not well-founded, and your views I find I cannot subscribe to. The sad occurrence at Lahore on the 30th November and afterwards upset me to the extent that I attempted to commit suicide, but Providence sent you to save me from myself. After a few days the acuteness of feeling subsided, and I began to feel unhappy over my offer, realising that however willing the soul may be, the body was most obdurate and hopeless. While in this predica-

ment, I wanted to go to my two friends and withdraw my offer, but a sense of false shame stood in the way. It was at this juncture that your letter came and released me from all responsibility.

So you see this matter is all, and there is no reason for you to come over to Lahore for it. But if you came to the Punjab during Xmas, I will, as always, be delighted to see you and hear you.

With best wishes and lots and lots of thanks for such helpful intercession.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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411. Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Calcutta.
13th December, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Yours of the 9th just received. It was inadvertently addressed to Lahore and from there went to Bombay and eventually arrived here to-day. Many thanks for your letter though I confess that I have not been able to understand it. It however indicates that your health—thank God—is much better now, as the enigmatic style in which it is couched is reminiscent of your early and vigorous days of health and optimism.

If my letter has in any way helped you to take a decision beneficial to yourself and the Province. it would naturally be gratifying. If on the other hand it has debarred you from doing what was right for the country and the province, merely because of worldly ties and consideration for the feelings of the present Ministers, however misguided they may have been, then I wish I had not written it. I will try to convince you if I came to Lahore, and provided you are good enough to elucidate your letter to enable me to understand it. I am in unfortunate position of not knowing whether I have done something good or wrong.

I trust this will find you all quite fit.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

41?. Telegram,
28th December, 1935.

DLT LA 101 CANNES 28 IRC 40 DLT SIR FAZLI HUSEIN LAHORE LEAVING NOW FOR INDIA WILL I SEE YOU DELHI EARLY FEBRUARY THREE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS NAMELY FUTURE OF ALIGARH MOSLEM POLICY IN PROVINCES AND FOR GENERAL UPLIFT NEED SERIOUS CONSULTATION BETWEEN US HAPPY NEW YEAR—AGAKHAN

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413. Telegram,
1st January, 1936.

O HC BOMBAY H 11-25 SIR FAZLI HOSAIN LAHORE THOUSAND THANKS DO SO HOPE WE MEET AT DELHI FEBRUARY DO COME WIFE SENDS SALAMS TO YOU BOTH—AGAKHAN

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414. Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
5th January, 1936.

My dear Fazli Hussein,

At the meeting of the Council of the All India Moslem League, it was the unanimous wish of everyone that you should be asked to preside over the next Session of the League. As soon as I suggested your name it was cordially welcomed. We tried in Delhi to get in touch with you, but it was not possible; hence the Council thought that it should be left to me to get your acceptance, but as we were not sure whether you will accept it naturally other names were also mentioned.

I do not know what your views are as to whether you would consent to preside or not but I along with many others feel that at this moment no one can give a better lead to the Mussalmans of India than yourself. Of course, it will be a great honour to the League to have you to preside over our deliberations and I am confident that you will be welcomed universally and I trust that you will accept the

call at this moment. I think that you can render the greatest service at this moment and add to your laurels, and I am very anxious that you should give me your authority to announce your name. We want a man of your calibre and experience, and nobody can well, at this critical moment as far as I can see, perform that duty and render that service to the community as you would be able to. I am afraid I have perhaps not expressed adequately how strongly I feel that your presence is necessary mainly and solely in the interests of the community, but I hope you will understand, and if you can, do send me a wire accepting it. Your refusal will be the greatest misfortune and a terrible disappointment to me personally.

Hoping you are keeping well,
With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Sir Fazli Hussein, Kt.,
Lahore.

P. S.
The Session is fixed for 11th & 12th April, 36 at Bombay.

Private & Personal.

415.

New Delhi,
7th January, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have been practically constantly on the move ever since the 4th of December and returned to Delhi in the hope of settling down for the rest of the season only last Saturday. This accounts for the delay in sending you New Year greetings, as also an acknowledgment of the portrait that you have kindly sent. It is a very good one, if I may say so, and will be an acquisition to the Portrait Gallery of the new Agricultural Research Institute.

There is not very much in the way of news. The Willingdons whom I saw in Calcutta are naturally sad at their repidly approaching departure, she perhaps more than he. They have been, both of them, very good to me socially during my term of office as temporary

Member and he has more than once hinted regret at the past. I suppose in this not very generous world one has to be grateful even for such small mercies. I have enjoyed my time as Acting Member. Though strenuous, it has been very interesting and one has had opportunities to suggest things to Departments other than one's own. From Chaudhri Sahib I have had the most cordial consideration and valuable help—debts which, I fear, I shall never be able to repay but for which I shall always remain most grateful.

When I was in Bikaner before Christmas, the Maharaja made me a very tempting offer to become his Prime Minister. Being a cautious man I made no definite answer, but asked for time to consider it. Will you, like the good and gracious friend you always have been, give me your candid advice ? Unless the unexpected happens there is not very much, except, of course, security, to look forward to here. Entry into State service, apart from pecuniary advantage, does offer the prospect of political advancement, if Federation should materialise. On the other hand, there are all the uncertainties and caprice of personal rule to reckon with in a State. I should have very much liked to talk this over personally with you in Lahore, but, as junior Member, I am tied down to Delhi in order to make the *conciliar quorum* and, after handing over to Kunwar Sahib in a couple of days, will become immobilised even more for other reasons. I hope, therefore you will not consider it an infliction to send me your advice by letter.

With the best of wishes for 1936, in which my wife and family join, to all of you.

I am
Yours sincerely,
G. S. Bajpai

416.

31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
8th January, 1936.

My dear Gurn,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I hope and pray that God Almighty give you sufficient energy to give us a lead on the basic

principles of Muslim policy and programme during the next two years or so. If we survive the ordeal of this period, we survive as a political force. I do hope you will consider the possibility of presiding over the Bombay session of the League. The journey is arduous, no doubt, but it need not be done at a stretch. However, your health must be the primary consideration and if there is the slightest risk, it ought not be exposed to strain.

I have been chained to my desk for the last six weeks. I thought the work was finished, but its revision meant complete overhauling. It will be finished in about a fortnight.

All of us ought to go to Delhi to pay our respects to His Highness, and the Conference should give us a lead on the principles adumbrated in your letter. I hope you will be able to give a few hints to Syed Habeeb and Khan Bahadur Rahim Baksh, and we will carry out the programme with mechanical precision. There seems to have been a stormy meeting of the Conference in Delhi, and Chhatari resigned.

With the kindest and most affectionate regards,

Ever yours sincerely,
Shafaat

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417. Land's End,
Bombay.
14th January, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for all yours.

I will cut out the portions that refer to the Army and I will also tone down the early portion of the paper so that we should not show too much of our hand to the public.

Now about the various matters of *immediate* concern. I *beg* of you if you can come to the Bombay meeting of the League to do so. April will be easy by sea from Karachi. It will be cool in Bombay and my house here, Land's End, surrouded by the sea is at your disposal, *also* all my servants who will look after you. But if that be impossible then let us have the League meeting somewhere that you can go to.

But I feel you *must preside* and give a lead. It is most important now that at last you are a free man to say what you think, that the platform should be ready and the League meeting is the place—.

Now about Aligarh. It is all very well that we have got it in true Syed Ahmad's ideas once more. But this is not enough *unless* we can *do* something to put it in a better situation than it was before the other crowd gave it up then indeed we will in the long run lose the U.P. Moslem youth. I have never looked upon Aligarh or U.P. as the *leadership* of Islam but I do understand here with its geographical position midway between Pakestan and Bengal how important it is that the Congress should not capture our "Centre". Now for this I propose to follow your suggestion and go once to Aligarh from 6 to 7 February, talk things over with the people on the spot and then come to Delhi. I propose if it is convenient to you to be at Delhi from the 8 to 15 February and then go to Calcutta or Lucknow and go to Rampur for the Education Conference from 21 to 22nd February. Do, do please come to Delhi. I feel it is only by intensive co-operation through the exchange of ideas yearly that our school of thought can survive. Now please let me know if the above dates 8 to 15 February at Delhi will suit you ? ? ? I do hope. So far I don't see how I can get any other dates. Besides all the Leg. will then be sitting and we can get our *ideas* more easily propagated. As to the "policy" which I am delighted has your approval and of which I shall get a fairer copy more toned down and not so brutally [?] *frank* and open. I will bring a copy and then we can together at Delhi make up a line of advance for our ideas. Do, do write and tell me soons, very soon.

(1) Will you be at Delhi from say about 8th to 15 ?

(2) Any chance of your coming to Aligarh for the 6th or 7th ?

(3) Will you preside at the League meeting if it is held at a place more convenient than Bombay ? Will you come to Bombay by sea ? ? from Karachi.

Your old friend,
Aga Khan

———

418. 21 January, 1936.

0 OF BOMBAY N 27-54 SIR FAZLI HOSAIN EMPRESS ROAD, LAHORE.

MANY THANKS LETTER 24 ENTIRELY AGREE WITH ALL STATEMENTS THEREIN PLEASE SEND ME WITHOUT FAIL POINTS AS PROMISED ALSO I AGREE TO PERHAPS MEETING OPPOSITION IF WE HAVE FORMULA WILL BE DELHI THIRTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH GOING KARACHI BUT ALL LETTERS PLEASE ADDRESS LANDS END BOMBAY.

AGA KHAN

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419. 31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
22nd January, 1936.

My dear Guru,

Herewith the draft, with a few verbal amendments. It seems an eminently practical and sensible programme, and includes within its purview practically all the stake-holders as well as the masses. While it may be necessary to keep the creed as comprehensive as possible and adopt a flexible and elastic phraseology, here and there a little crystallisation may be necessary, particularly in the concluding paragraph.

I hope your health is now much better. It is an earnest prayer that you be restored to complete health in order that you may lead our community and country into the right path.

The book is still keeping me glued to my desk. The Introduction will be finished tomorrow. This will be the last part of the work. I expect to despatch it to England next Saturday week. The revision took longer than original composition. It is not so much an analysis of the new constitution as a survey of Indian politics since 1919.

With kindest and most affectionate regards,

Ever yours sincerely,
Shafaat

Zafrulla spent only 1½ hours here last Sunday.

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420. Rohtak,
22nd January, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I have gone through the draft so kindly sent by you. I have not had sufficient time to study the whole draft with the care and attention which it deserves. You have asked me to return the draft by the 23rd. instance. If you had not wanted it back on the 23rd for some good reasons you would not have given me that direction. Therefore I am sending it back immediately and am making special arrangements to have it posted by to-night's Express. This leaves me inadequate time to study the draft. However I am making a few comments which have occurred to me during the time which I have had to peruse it :—

There are two parts of the creed. The first may by described as negative and the second as positive. So far as the positive part of the creed is concerned I am at one with you. But I should like to add two more items to this part; one relating to the attitude of the Party towards the Punjab Alienation of Land Act and the other to the Resolution of 1919 bearing on the share of various classes in the public service. The Alienation of Land Act did figure in our creed of 1924. A reference to the Resolution of 1919 was incorporated into a draft which I made a year or so ago and which you approved.

A little re-arrangement and further splitting up of some of the items of the creed may be made with advantage. However it is a matter of detail. With regard to the Resolution of 1919 it is a matter for consideration whether a reference should be made to it or a mere statement that all classes should have a fair representation in the premanent service will be sufficient.

So far as the negative part of the creed is concerned I am a little doubtful whether Ahrars and the extremists of the Congress need be mentioned specifically. I am even more doubtful of the expression "talk of independence of India". The rest is all right. A little re-arrangement of words will have to be effected here and there.

I am enclosing herewith a draft of the programme etc. of the Party which was attempted at the time when negotiations with Sikhs were in progress. When you are chalking out the programme of the

Party this draft will place before you various items from which you may make a selection. I will add one more item to this programme, *i.e.*, a survey of the mineral resources of the province.[1]

I am coming to Lahore for the 25th. and can come to see you between 4 and 5 if you happen to be free. I will find this out over the phone after my arrival at Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

(1 . No good. Centre Subject)
Note by Fazl-i-Husain.

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421. 3, Durand Road, Lahore,
23rd January, 1936.

Dear Fazl-i-Hussain,

Your note of 21st with a copy of the draft[2] Creed of the National Unionist Party. Part I of the Creed, which is meant to distinguish the Nationalist Unionist Party from other Parties, states the policy rather than the creed or objects of the Party, and therefore, should be omitted; as it goes without saying that the Party shall do its best to secure its aims and objects and to oppose everything that is inconsistent with or against its creed and policy. Therefore, I consider it both unnecessary and impolitic to retain any of the five paragraphs of Part I.

As to Part II of the draft, I have redrafted it a little bit briefly but without omitting, I think, anything of importance or substance, subject, of course, to such additions and alterations as you or any other promoter of the National Unionist Party may deem proper to make.

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

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2. **Creed of the Party.**

The Creed of the Party is ***Nationalism*** as distinguished from Sectarianism, Communalism, Communism and Socialism.

Objects of the Party.

The objects of the Party are :—

1. to develop national self-respect lawfully and constitutionally;
2. to provide equal facilities and opportunities to the backward

classes and areas ;

3. to promote and protect the interests of masses without undue encroachment on the interests of capitalists, big landholders and moneyed people ;

4. to reconstruct and reorganise the agricultural and industrial life of the Province economically and commercially ;

5. to effect rural uplift by infusing the real and enlightened spirit of village community and making every village a unit of true social and national life ;

6. (i) to secure purity of administration and reduce its cost consistently with efficiency ;

(ii) to distribute fairly and equitably the burden of taxation ;

(iii) to secure funds for promoting and developing beneficent activities :

7. (i) to preserve and protect the religious culture and social integrity of each community ;

(ii) to treat all communities alike and to see that no community dominates the other community ; and

(iii) to infuse the spirit of mutual goodwill, co-operation and toleration and thus to prevent the creation, and to settle amicably, when created, all religious, communal or social differences and disputes ;

8. to work out the Reforms, despite their being unsatisfactory and imperfect, and to make strenuous efforts to obtain good results from them.

S. Din

422.

6, KING EDWARD ROAD,
NEW DELHI.
23rd January, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 21st and the enclosed draft of the National Unionist Party's creed.

I have no particular comments to offer but I have no doubt that in the final drafting some of the clauses will be expanded and re-arranged. I think the draft covers everything that need be put forward in the creed.

The election manifesto which will have to be issued on behalf of the party when the provincial elections draw near will, of course, have to go into some of these matters in greater detail.

I had a very interesting trip to Burma and returned to Delhi on the 20th.

Yours sincerely,
Zafrulla Khan

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423. Pind Dadan Khan,
Council of State. 31st January, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I thank you very much for your kind letter dated 23rd January 1936 and was extremely glad to find that by the grace of God your health has permitted you to once again enter political life. I have no doubt that at this critical juncture this unhappy Province particularly the Muslim community of Punjab very much need the leadership of a great administrator and statesman like yourself. I may assure you that your efforts to bring a strong and united party in the Punjab would be heartily welcome by the Musalmans in general and educated class in particular. I am attaching herewith my own humble views on the rough draft regarding the creed of the National Unionist Party which you have so kindly forwarded to me for my views.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ghazanfar Ali.

K.B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
Kt., K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,
39, Empress Road,
Lahore.

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424. Pind Dadan Khan,
Council of State. 4th February, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks very much for your kind letter dated 1st February. I shall very gladly avail myself of the opportunity of discussing with you personally certain matters concerning the subject matter of enclosures and for this purpose will reach Lahore sometime in the afternoon of the 8th instant by car. I shall phone up and fix up the time on my arrival in Lahore.

I must confess that there seems great difficulty to define the definite principles to be embodied in the object of the party to keep out such members who may join the party just for their own selfish objects although may have no sympathy with the principles of the party. However, I give below my own humble opinion for your consideration though I again confess that I am not quite convinced whether they will serve the object in view and also how far they will make the party popular amongst the literate :—

(1) The party believes that the present revenue system in the province puts greater strain on tenants and therefore would make an organized attempt to give substantial relief to them.

(2) Although the party is convinced that the existence of Land Alienation Act has served as a great protection to the zamindar against those persons who have not made agriculture as their profession, yet realizes that the real object which the Land Alienation Act had in view cannot be served unless some legislation is introduced to give protection to the small holder against big landlord even if the latter belongs to the agriculturist class.

(3) The party considers that an avowed distinction between rural and urban interests is more artificial than real. Therefore the party would take definite steps to bridge over this cleavage.

(4) The party looks upon with great concern the rapidly increasing unemployment amongst the educated classes and will take substantial steps to remove the same. The party further

considers the present educational system extremely defective and will try to thoroughly overhaul the same.

(5) The party believes that the legislation so far undertaken by the Provincial Council to remove the indebtedness of the agriculturists in the Province is extremely inadequate and therefore would advocate a policy of immediate redemption from debt of the small landholders by inaugurating an extensive system of mortgage banks.

(6) The party believes that moneylending by private individuals except for special objects should be prohibited by legislation and some special protection should be provided to the banks for recovering of loans advanced by them to the agriculturists for certain purposes.

Besides the above-mentioned principles I am of opinion that more importance should be attached to the method by which the party would put up candidates for election on its behalf. For instance, a small parliamentary election board should be constituted and any member who wants to stand on the party ticket should sign a pledge laying down the following conditions: –

(*a*) That he will abide by the decision of the parliamentary board whether he should stand from a particular constituency or not and in case the said board decides that he should not stand he should obey their verdict.

(*b*) He should sign a pledge that if elected he shall always vote as the party by a majority decides and where he considers the decision of the party against his conscience he shall simultaneously resign from the party as well as legislature.

In conclusion I would fankly state that there is no one in this province who has better knowledge of the mentality of the leading men in this province and understands the psychology of masses than yourself. Therefore this must entirely be left with you to decide what you consider would be in the best interests of the party and I am afraid I cannot make any valuable contribution towards achieving

this object except to pray earnestly and sincerely that God Almighty may give you strength enough both to organize and lead a strong and united party.

Yours sincerely,
Ghazanfar Ali

———

As far as the general principles underlying this creed are concerned I wholeheartedly endorse every word of it, but I doubt very much whether it would be wise or essential to put five negatives in the beginning of the creed. In my opinion it should be enough to explain the creed of the party without specifying to whom it is opposed and why it is opposed. Therefore I would suggest that the first paragraph under the head "As distinguished from other parties" should be altogether deleted. My reasons for this suggestion are as follows :—

1. The objects attributed to different parties such as Ahrars, Congress, Socialists and Communists are merely inferences but are not contained in the creed of those parties, and therefore these may invite such hostile criticism which it would be impossible to rebut.
2. It is bound to create a united opposition by those parties whose names are mentioned and the general public will consider that the National Unionist Party are the aggressors in launching an uncalled for attack on the other parties.
3. What is contained in these five stanzas of the first part is repeated in the second part where the creed of the party is described because when we clearly state what we stand for it becomes self-evident what we are opposed to.

Lastly I may submit that the objects of the party are couched in such wide and all-embracing terms that every body whether he believes in the principles laid down in this creed or not will come forward fo sign this creed and stand on the party ticket with the result that it will be most impossible to decide whom to nominate on behalf of the party from any particular constituency. What would really happen is that like the so-called Election Board of the Muslim

Conference the party will nominate on its behalf all the opposing members from each constituency. On the other hand if the intention is to leave the members free to fight election with their own private influence and to join this party after they have been returned, with my experience of the Independent party in the Assembly I am sure it would be impossible to maintain any discipline in the party or to keep the members under control. Therefore I am of opinion that the creed should be defined more definitely and there should be two or three definite principles upon which it should be based.

Ghazanfar Ali
Member Council of State.

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425. 39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
9th February, 1936.

Dear Syed Habib,

Your No: 401, dated the 9th February, 1936.

Since last June or July you have lost faith in my opinion and have followed the course which you said, the circumstances of your case necessitated. Whenever you consulted me, I gave you my frank opinion, though repeatedly you preferred to follow your own. Now you intimate to me that to escape what you call public criticism you have decided to court imprisonment. I can only express regret at your decision and repreat once more that you are acting wrongly.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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426. 10th February, 1936,

O HF BOMBAY H 10 35 SIR FAZLI HOSAIN EMPRESS ROAD LAHORE=WILL IT BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU COME DELHI DURING MY STAY AM REACHING THIRTEENTH LEAVING NINETEENTH HOPE HEALTH WELL EXPECTING FIND NOTES PROMISED ALSO FOR GUIDANCE=AGA KHAN.

The Daily "Siyast",
Lahore.
427. 10th February, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

I have received your letter dated the 9th instant. You could not have wounded me more severely with a whip than you did by saying in your letter under reference that I had lost faith in your opinion. If it were so, I would not have at considerable expense and trouble (which I could hardly bear) tried to turn the movement into reasonable channels by taking trips to Alipur. My efforts were frustrated by gentlemen of your own party like Mir Maqbul Mahmood.

The present unfortunate movement is the direct result of Amritsar Conference. The people wanted a programme and not a Conference.

I can not remain idle. Please do not judge me by your happy position. If I do not take some action I shall not be able, in future, to be of any use to my friends or to my community. I can smash the movement but, under the circumstances, I do not feel that, I should take the risk of the reaction against myself which is sure to follow.

I may go to jail today or tomorrow. Please believe me wherever I am I shall pray for your health and success.

Yours sincerely,
Syed Habib

Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir
Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Kt., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
39 Empress Road,
Lahore.

————

Private & Confidential
428. 29, Ballygunge Park,
Calcutta.
15th February, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Ahmad Yar 'phoned to me on Sunday last and told me that a note had appeared, recently, in the '*Hindu Herald*', which you consider to be misleading and likely to be misconstrued and that you desired an early contradiction to be published. As I had not seen

the article, I suggested that he should ask you to dictate the wording of the contradiction and send it to me together with the offending article. I have to-day received a letter from him saying that you do not want any contradiction from Nawab Muzaffar Khan or myself but want one only from Ahmad Yar. Since he has not mentioned the reason for this modification of your previous proposals and I have still not seen the offending article, I am at a loss to understand why the contradiction, if it is considered expedient or necessary, should come from Ahmad Yar alone. If the note is objectionable and is likely to create an erroneous impression, surely the contradiction should be in the name of all those whose names have been dragged in. Contradiction by only one of the persons named might conceivably provide occasion for further unjustified and false deductions and conclusions. However, you are in a better position to judge, and if you deem it necessary or expedient that a contradiction should be published, kindly dictate it and hand it over to Ahmad Yar for communication to me or, if it cannot brook any further delay, to the press. Personally, I think it would be far more graceful, and effective, if a statement to the press emanated from you on somewhat following lines:—

> "I have decided, provided my health permits, to enter public life again with a view to help in the working of the new Constitution, and to make the best of use of it (in spite of its limitations) for furthering the interests of my country and the Province of my birth. Attempts have been made, and may continue to be made, by interested and short-sighted persons to create bad blood between the various communities and even among the members or sections of the same community. So far as I am concerned, I do not propose to work for any sectional or communal combination. It has been stated in some quarters that I was instrumental in arranging for translation of Sikander Hyat from provincial politics to the Reserve Bank. This is a palpably false allegation. Equally incorrect is the assertion that I am opposed to his return to the Punjab. I shall be only too glad to have him back, and if I find that my health does not permit me to undertake the

task single-handed, I could have no better helper to assist me. I will, in that event, do my best to persuade him, in the interests of the province, to relinquish his present important and lucrative job. The stray rumours and notes in the press,—no doubt set afloat or inspired by mischief-mongers for selfish motives,—that Sikander or his friends well set up a rival party against me or that I would oppose him are too fantastic to need any comment or contradiction. There has never been any question of rivalry between us and I can speak both for Sikander and myself that there can be none in future either."

I am confident that a statement from you on the above lines will be most effective and, if I may say so, useful. It would, for one thing, choke off mischief-mongers and at the same time set at rest any doubts which may be entertained by friends or foes.

I am asking Ahmad Yar to see you and request for the form in which you desire the contradiction should be published. Personally, I would earnestly request you to give full consideration to my suggestion for a statement from you on the lines I have suggested. It would, I am sure, stop all mischief once for all and will, I am confident, be appreciated by friends.

I hope you are well and not over-exerting yourself. Do look after yourself.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

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429. 29, Ballygunge Park,
Calcutta.
27th February, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Yours of the 23rd February. Many thanks. I confess I am sorely disappointed with your reply. I do not for a moment doubt the altruistic motives which have actuated you to do all that you have

done and are doing for the sake of the community and the province; my request for a statement from you was prompted by a desire to choke off mischievous propaganda, and to allay any doubts or misgivings which might be entertained by friends, and I can think of no better way of achieving this than an authoritative statement from you. You are no doubt aware that during the course of the past 9 or 10 months I have issued about half a dozen statements to the press but apparently they have not had the desired effect; may be because mischief-mongers have been busy in spreading rumours that you are not friendly towards me. In the circumstances I considered that a statement from you would perhaps be more efficacious in setting at rest unfounded and mischievous rumours circulated by shortsighted self-seekers. In making my suggestion I was not unmindful of the possibility of your statement causing resentment among a section of Muslims (referred to above) who may be relying on the strength of rumours set afloat by them to further their own selfish ends; but at the same time I was confident that you would not allow such petty considerations to prevail, or influence you, one way or the other, in view of the importance of the issues involved and in the larger interests of the Province which you have at heart. However, since you seem to have arrived at the conclusion—much against my expectation—that it would not be desirable for you to issue a statement, it is perhaps useless for me to press you further, although I still adhere to the view that the course I suggested is the only effective way of countering the mischievous propaganda and intrigue which unfortunately seems to be flourishing in the Punjab. In the interests of the Province if not for your own (which, of course, you would not give even a moment's thought) and your friends' sake, amongst whom I count myself,—I hope I am not presumptuous in doing so—I beseech you to reconsider, sympathetically, my request.

In fairness to Ahmad Yar I should like to remove the impression —which I gather from your letter you seem to have formed—that he was saying one thing to you and something quite different to me. He has all along been in favour of issuing a contradiction. What puzzled him and me were your subsequent instructions that he *alone* need send in a contradiction and that you did not wish Nawab Muzaffar

Khan or myself to refute the allegations. I must confess that I am still at a loss to understand why if a contradiction is necessary it should come from Ahmad Yar alone and not from all of us. I mentioned this point in my previous letter also but you seem to have overlooked it in answering my letter, so I am no wiser than I was when I wrote to you last. You have not mentioned anything about my second alternative, *viz.*, that if a contradiction from us was necessary you might dictate a statement and hand it to Ahmad Yar for publication. I shall be grateful if you would kindly apprise me of your wishes in the matter.

Yes, I saw in the papers that you had been to Delhi. I hope your discussions with the various leaders were on the whole useful and successful. I will go through the pamphlet—*Punjab Politics*—you have sent me when I have a little leisure and let you have my comments in due course.

I hope your health continues to improve and you will not allow a set back by overworking yourself.

With kind and respectful regards.

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

430.

(سرخ چٹھی)

قسط نمبر ۱

جناب میاں سر فضل حسین صاحب

مسجد مسلمانوں کی ہے - تمھارا دل جانتا ہے، تم مسلمان ہو پھر کیوں نہیں قوم کی رہنمائی کرتے - نوجوانوں کے خون نے تمھیں سر کا خطاب دلایا - اب بڑے کوٹھی میں آرام کر رہے ہو - یا تو ایک ہفتہ کے اندر اندر اس سچے مذہب کو خیر باد [کہہ] کر عیسائی مذہب اختیار کرلو - یا قوم کی صحیح رہنمائی کے لیے پیش کرو - ہم آپ کو مسلمان ہوتے ہوئے اس طرح کوٹھی میں آرام کی زندگی بسر نہ کرنے دیں گے اور نتیجہ پر تمھاری موت اور گولی کا نشانہ بنایا جائے گا -

۱۵ فروری ۱۹۳۶ء

الراقم

سفید نقاب پوش

431.

18th February, 1936.

....My view is that the writer (of "Punjab Politics") has adopted a certain line of policy and following that has come to certain conclusions which seem to be quite definite and dicisive. Taking that as the basis I do not think any talk on that question will be fruitful....

[*Incomplete*]

Yours sincerely,
[Bhai] Parmanand

432.

Luddan,
Multan,
19th February, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I drafted a statement and sent it to Sir Sikandar as I also said something about him that he had several times given assurances that he would be delighted to work under you and it was unfair that his name should be dragged in this imaginary and mean controversy.

I have just received his letter in which he informs me that my statement was too lengthy and that you will advise me on the subject when I meet you.

I have still a bad throat and cold and intend reaching Lahore on the 24th but if I am required earlier I can come if desired any day.

I am really sorry I could not come to Delhi.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar [Daultana]

433.

21st February, 1936.

Dear Parmanand,

Yours of the 18th.

Thanks awefully for promising to send me your notes. I will be very glad to receive and study them carefully. The object of this pamphlet was not raising controversy but to see to what extent it is

possible to agree upon a programme of the future. It of course is not possible for every body to agree upon a programme, otherwise party-government would have no significance. You will no doubt agree with me that even if there are two parties and there is disagreement on a number of important points, still it is in the interest of both parties not to develop feelings of hatred and animosity against each other. If we disagree on any other point and agree on this, I will feel satisfied. You very kindly promised to see me some day in Lahore. I will be delighted to have that opportunity, for I believe, you have confidence in your judgment and it is always a pleasure to meet someone who has confidence in his own knowledge and judgment.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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434. 68, Jail Road,
Lahore.
22nd February, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I had to run to Lahore as Mr. Jinnah wired to me. I was better but have caught cold again.

I am asking some Muslims to tea at 4 to talk to Mr. Jinnah.

It shall be my great honour and pleasure if you can come for [a] few minutes to grace the function.

Mr. Jinnah made inquiries yesterday on his arrival, but you did not return before his going to mosque.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

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435. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
23rd February, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I am unable to understand it.

The Party for today was arranged only yesterday at 6 after Mr. Jinnah had met the Sikhs and I could not ask you before. I felt that I was giving a very short notice but unfortunately I could not help it.

Did I not mention the date. I had to write several letters and I should not have made any mistake as it was the first letter.

I informed Mr. Jinnah yesterday at Dinner that you had returned.

I will meet you tomorrow at tea if not earlier.

Sikandar has written to me a very long letter and you must have heard from him by now.

I have to take your instructions on the subject of the statement which has unfortunately been delayed beyond desirable limit.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

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436. 39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
23rd February, 1936.

My dear Sikander,

Yours of the 15th February.

I am afraid, what you state has been communicated to you by Ahmad Yar, as to my wishes and proposals, is quite different from the talk he and I had. As regards the *Hindu Herald's* statement and suggestions, they were clear and definite, and it is not for me to desire their contradiction. One of the men mentioned, has already

contradicted it: whether Ahmad Yar should contradict or not, no doubt after consulting friends it is for him to decide. To me he expressed the view that the contradiction was absolutely necessary, but if after consulting friends he feels otherwise, I will certainly not complain.

You wish me to issue a statement that the reports in the public-press as to the want of loyalty of some of the members of my party are incorrect. I have never pressed myself forward as Leader: I have never claimed to be in the exalted position of the leader who has any wonderful claim to the allegiance of all those associated with his work. In fact, it has been my desire to care more work than for personal advertisement, and even now what I aim at, is that the right thoughts, principles and programmes to be formulated and executed, does not matter by whom! And the personal matter should be only of secondary importance. I mean, nature being what it is, it is impossible for me to eradicate personal jealousy amongst my colleagues or amongst those who in the future will have to carry out our programme. My health no doubt, is better than it was but is not yet good enough for the great responsibility involved in organising a party in the Punjab. Those who are opposed to the programme which is formulated for our party and approved by the party, will no doubt form the opposition: but then party-form of Government would be meaningless if there were no opposition. I went to Delhi as desired by H. H. the Agha Khan and had five busy days there. I send in a separate cover half a doz. copies of a pamphlet—*Punjab Politics*—and should be glad to hear your comments on it.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

———

437.

23rd February, 1936.

Dear Jinnah,

I saw it in the paper that you arrived on the morning of the 21st, and have been devoting yourself whole-heartedly to the work which

brought you here. From the papers it appears that some ill-advised people try to give party or factional colour to the problem, eradication of the papers so far as created by [? sic]. Shahabud Din told me tha the was thinking of asking you to tea and for a private talk. In case, you feel there is anything I can contribute towards your solution of the problem, as I told you in Delhi, I will be very glad indeed to make it.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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438. Land's End,
Bombay,
27th February, 1936.

Personal

My dear Sir Fazli,

I have sent (yesterday) 7000 Rs. to Abdulla Haroon. This is for 6 months to be spent but some 3 or 4 should be spent for a meeting of the Conference. It will be fatal if there is no *splash* by the Conference. I will give more when later required.

Perhaps also you will send me a typed copy of the purely tentative and merely exploratory formula which you suggested might be shown "without prejudice" to Congress leaders. If you do I will send it as from us we 2 only to Bholabhai Desai. It must be made clear that it is only exploratory which I shall do.

I hope you are none the worse for your Delhi visit.

Yours ever,
Aga Khan

P. S.

Salempur if made President of the
Conference meeting will give up his
so called "unity" party.

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439. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
1st March, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of the 25th.

I am very grateful to you for accepting my suggestion with regard to the tip to the servants. Nadirshaw says he will keep the money to the credit of your account till he is able to hand it over to you.

Firoz's letter arrived two days earlier than yours. The matter is in train and I shall let you know if there are any further developments. The present situation is as I described it in my last letter.

I have discussed with the Chief Commissioner the matter concerning the young man whose application you sent me. He does not hold out much hope at present, but he said he would look into the matter, and we shall talk of it again in a few days' time after he has received information with regard to the situation on the N. W. R. The Agent would also be coming up about the middle of the month and I shall try to arrange something.

A regards the new Portfolio, you will have noticed in the papers the reply that I gave. Briefly, it was to the effect that active steps will be taken during the course of 1937 to set up a separate Portfolio of Communications. Noyce has told me that his position is that he does not want a change during his time and, therefore, if a change has to be made it can only be made in April 1937.

The Report of the Delimitation Committee will be released for publication on the 3rd. The Committee have recommended that the electorate for the University constituencies should consist of members of the Court or Senate and Graduates of 7 years' standing. They have also accepted the Local Government's proposal that Amritsar and Sialkot should have 3 Muslim seats each. Differing from the Local Government, they have recommended that the electorate for the Trade Union seat in the Punjab should consist of the members of the N. W. Railway Union alone. It is possible that the Government of India might recommend that the electorate for the University seat should be confined to members of the Senate

or Court and that Amritsar should have two Muslim seats and Sialkot, four. As regards the Trade Union seat, my own view is that the Committee's recommendation is suitable, but the Local Government insist that all Trade Unions that comply with certain conditions should be included in the constituency, and as that is the view that commends itself to the I. & L. Department here, it appears that that view shall prevail and that the Local Government's proposal will be given preference over the proposal of the Committee. Of course, no one can say what the decision of the Secretary of State may be on these matters.

Shafee Daoodi and Ahmad Haroon Jaffer are both very anxious to have their disqualification removed in view of the approach of provincial elections. I am doing what I can and it is possible that something might be done in that direction.

Ahmad Yar Khan came to see me last evening and had a long talk with me. He said that he felt that you did not trust him and that this grieved him very much. He says that he is anxious to work in full co-operation with you if you will give him the opportunity of doing so. He begged me to write to you and to request you to afford him the opportunity of working with you. He desired me to assure you that he has no other allegiances and no personal ambition for himself, so that he could give you entirely disinterested service. His anxiety on that score was so great that I was certainly impressed by it. On the other hand, you are always the first to recognise that one must work with the material that one has got, and I am, therefore, quite sure that you will make such use of him as may be feasible. He told me that he has always felt very shy in your presence and he has had a great disadvantage in that respect as he has never been able to clearly explain his point of view and is, in consequence, often misunderstood. He said that he intended seeing you within a day or two and I suggest that you might put him at his ease and have a frank talk with him. I hope I am not being impertinent in suggesting this.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Zafrulla

440. Land's End,
Bombay.
4th March, 1936.

My dear Fazli,

Many thanks for yours. I entirely agree with you all you say about the Moslem situation. Salempur is very anxious to be President of the coming Conference meeting. I think we should give him a chance of returning to the true fold ! ! Do, unless you have strong reasons against him, put a word for him to Haroon & Co.

Owing to the possibility of things get hot at Geneva not that the oil sanction is coming I have decided to go by the mail of the 9th March. So please telegraph me if you still want me to cable to Zetland about the High Commissioner or whether it can wait till I get there.

My address in England or France is always Hotel Ritz Paris or Hotel Ritz London.

Yours always,
Aga Khan

P. S.

I am sending Ziauddin 1000 Rs. for his own private entertainment expenses—Hydari was here and had promised to help your political funds. More from Europe.

Love
A. K.

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441. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
12th March, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th.

As regards the money for the *Daur-i-Jadeed*, on the whole I think, the whole of this amount should go to the paper. If you will send for Asadullah Khan and give him the money he will see to its proper application. I have made interim arrangements for the support of the late Syed Inamullah's dependents, and shall make

further efforts to get some thing for them out of Hyderabad though I doubt whether I shall succeed. But this amount I think should go to the *Daur-i-Jadeed.*

The London affair is being settled by P. & P. letters and nothing further is expected till the end of the month. As soon as there is any further development I shall let you know.

Sahibzada Faiz Mohyuddin's son need not come up to Delhi. I shall do what I can and as early as I can, though I am unable to say at present how soon that may be.

Your cousin might come and see me one Sunday morning, if he can manage it.

The B. B. & C. I. are prepared to pay Rs. 3,500/- (the maximum permissible) to the heirs of Ishtiaq Ahmad Chishti.

I shall continue to pursue the matter of Shafi Daudi and Haroon Ahmad Jafar.

I hope Ahmad Yar Khan will have a frank talk with you and come to some understanding to which he will keep.

Yours V. sincerely,

Zafrulla

———

442. Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Calcutta.
17th March, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks for your letter which I duly received last week. I delayed my reply as I was not sure regarding the dates of my visit to Lahore. I now expect to be there for the 29th and 30th. As I would be going to Bombay shortly after my return from Lahore and may not be able to visit Punjab again for some time I shall be grateful if you could see your way to consider and come to a definite decision regarding your future plan so that we may be able to discuss the various

aspects of the problem in the light of that decision and not merely as an accidental or hypothetical proposition.

I hope this will find you and yours in the best of health and flourishing.

With kindest regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hayat

———

443.
Private

31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
21st March, 1936.

My dear Guru,

I was told yesterday by Dr. Wali Muhammad that K. C. Roy informed him in 1931 that Sir B. L. Mitra had asked him (Roy) to see the Viceroy and inform him that I ought *not* to be appointed a member of the Public Service Commission as I was a rank communalist. Roy boasted to Wali Muhammad that it was his intervention which proved decisive and led to Dr. Hyder's appointment. I am afraid the same arguments might be employed now, particularly by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy who must have enlisted the help of Sir N. N. Sircar and other Hindus.

The only reply that can really be effective is that though I am, and have been a communalist, in *actual practice* in the administration of my department, not a single complaint of communalism has been urged against me during the last fifteen years at Allahabad. I must [have] sent out 3,000 graduates so far. Of them, nearly 80 per cent are Hindus. No complaint has been made. The entire staff of my Dept. is and has been Hindu during the last fifteen years. No complaint of any kind has been made. Throughout the U. P., it is well known that in actual administration, no example of communalism has ever been adduced. It is one thing to be a communalist in political programme, and an entirely different thing to be a partisan in the actual administration.

(2) The Governor of U. P. has written to me a letter informing me that he is backing me strongly and has written to the Government of India.

(3) I have consistently refused to canvass, see, talk or discuss this matter with anyone in Delhi or at any other place. If you think it will do no harm, I can ask Craik or Viceroy to see me and personally explain any points that he may like me to elucidate.

Yours sincerely,
Shafaat Ahmad Khan

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444. The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
1st April, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

I am very glad to inform you that the policy of my paper has not changed from what it has been since 1928. In politics I have followed you and I still adhere to the school of thought that you represent.

I have never countenanced Civil Disobedience, and I am dead against such a movement because I honestly believe that Civil Disobedience is harmful to India as a whole and the Mussalmans of India in particular. In the Punjab, I realise, my Community is sure to have a great influence in the Government in future if it does not become the Government. I, therefore, cannot think of my Community in the Punjab following such a subversive movement as Civil Disobedience.

You are perfectly aware that as regards H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, my policy has been that happiest possible relations should exist between His Exalted Highness and the Supreme Government on the one hand and the Mussalmans of India should have the greatest possible affection and regard for the Hyderabad State on the other.

I solemnly promise to adhere to this policy in future.

Yours sincerely,
Syed Habib

K. B. Sir Mian
Fazli Hosain Sahib Kt.
Lahore.

445.

الجھ پڑوں کسی دامن سے میں وہ خار نہیں
وہ پھول ہوں جو کسی کے گلے کا ہار نہیں

لنڈن، ۳ اپریل ۱۹۳۶ء

قبلہ مخدومی مدظلہ

السلام علیکم - ۲۱ فروری سے میں لاہور رہا لنڈن کے کاموں کے لیے میری توجہ کی ضرورت ہے - جو کمیٹی جناب نے بنائی ہے میری مراد اتحاد پارٹی سے ہے اس میں کام کرنا ملک کی خدمت کے علاوہ ذاتی خدمت بھی ہے اور جو لوگ اس میں کام کریں گے وہ علاوہ ملک و ملت کی خدمت کے اپنے لیے بھی بے حد مفید پائیں گے اور کیا یہ کم فخر و عزت ہے کہ جناب والا اور سر سکندر حیات کے ماتحت کام کیا جائے لیکن ساتھ ہی یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ وہی لوگ اس کام کو اپنے کندھوں پر لینے کی ہمت کریں جو اپنے آپ کو اس کام کے اہل سمجھتے ہوں ورنہ کسی قابل تر یا اپنے سے زیادہ موزوں آدمی کو موقعہ دینا مناسب ہوگا - میری صحت بھی آجکل بہت خراب ہے مستقل تکالیف کو اس وقت آغاز ہی سے شروع ہوگئی ہیں اندریں حالات میں اپنا فرض سمجھتا ہوں کہ آپ سے اور بھائی سکندر حیات سے استدعا کروں کہ مجھے اس کام سے بوجہ میری کوتاہیوں اور معذوریوں کے مجھے سبکدوش فرمایا جائے - میں حسب توفیق اس پروگرام کے لیے جوکچھ کر سکا کروں گا - میں نہیں چاہتا کہ میری وجہ سے یہ کام خاطر خواہ طریق پر ترقی نہ کر سکے اور چونکہ میں اس کام میں زیادہ وقت نہیں دے سکتا اس لیے لازمی طور پر اس کام میں حرج واقع ہوگا - میرے حالات اور میری صحت نے مجھے مجبور کیا ہے کہ میں یہ عریضہ جناب کو اور اسی مضمون کا بھائی سکندر کو لکھوں اور ایسا کرنے میں اپنی بڑی بد قسمتی اور طالع کی زبونی سمجھتا ہوں -

تابعدار

احمد یار خاں

446.

39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
3rd April, 1936.

My dear Azim,

Yours of the 23rd March (Monday) reached me on the 31st (Tuesday afternoon), *i.e.*, after the air mail had left (1 p.m.). So I am answering it today, Friday.

I note your address.

I am glad you have started English composition with Mr. Lamb, and started work on Constitutional Law. I advise your doing the subject and say four or five papers with a good Bar Exams coach, so as to get into the method and style of this Law Exam.

Afzal left on the 1st for Cairo, and will return to India from Cairo—will not go to the continent or England, so we could not send your tennis racquet through him.

"*Punjab Politics*" has caused considerable stir—very strong opposition in some quarters, fairly general appreciation of the facts and fictions, and almost universal agreement with the programme for the future outlined therein. 800 copies of it and of Aga Khan's speech at Delhi have been sent to Sir Abdul Qadir and you can get as many copies as you like from him. The result of all the party activities has been manifested in the enclosed statement. Unionist Party organisation is to be set up—this organisation is being outlined and soon branches will be established and work commenced. It means very heavy work, but very important and useful work too.

My health has not been very good since you left. I had two set-backs, but am recovering from them.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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447. (Urban Muslim View)

Malik Barkat Ali,
M.A., LL.B.,
Advocate High Court,
Lahore.

19, Temple Road,
Lahore,
4th April, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I duly received your kind letter dated 1st March, 1936, enclosing a revised draft of the creed of the National Unionist Party. I also duly received your kind note dated 11th March 1936, intimating that a meeting for the discussion of the draft will be held on the 13th March at 10 A. M., at your place.

I must regret that I was unable to attend the meeting, as I had a part-heard case in the High Court which was taken up just at

10 A.M. I must also ask you to excuse the non-acknowledgment of your first letter dated 1st March 1936. You can very well uuderstand that it could not be the result of any inattention or discourtesy on my part. Any communication from you is entitled to first consideration. But I really felt that I was more or less a retired person for whom active politics has ceased to be the attraction it once was, and that your kind letter was really more in the nature of a remembrance and an indulgence shown to an old colleague who once used to take some amateur interest in the public affairs of the province. Those good old days have long past and all that is left to me now, with my limited energy, is to plough quietly the furrows of the Bar.

You have been pleased again, from the fullness of your affection which I reciprocate, fully and from the bottom of my heart, to write to me on the 3rd instant, desiring that I should prepare a draft of "a suitable programme for town branches." There is none better than yourself, with your diversified experience and your great talents, to mould words in apt casts, and I cannot, therefore delude myself into the belief that I am really wanted for this work. But as you have been kind enough to honour me with your old confidence long since withdrawn, I should like to acquaint you with the thoughts and feelings that have been permeating many of us, since you were lifted to positions of great responsibility as Minister and Councillor of state. On your return to the Province, you have used an expression which is constantly ringing in my ears as a perfect mirror of the real situation existing today. You said that the Province had lost a great deal in its self-respect and that the first question confronting any public man was how to restore to the Province the self-respect it has lost. No better truth could be so beautifully and aptly expressed. May I venture to add that the guilt of this crime against the Province rests on the shoulders of the Unionist Party that you left to take charge of the affairs of the Province after you had gone. They were the Party in power and the grave responsibility of playing with and bartering away the self-respect of the Province, rests solely with them and them alone. You have chosen the same party as your instruments. It may be that you can control the situation but for how long? After you, who will carry out your work? Will it be the

Noons and the Sikanders? It is a pain to us that some of these creatures of yours should actually be conspiring against you and plotting and cajoling with Hindus to overthrow you. *The Eastern Times* announces that Sir Sikander has accepted your leadership. But the *Tribune* tells another tale. Who is this Sir Sikander? Mian Sahib, you should open your eyes and rally to yourself the talent of the Province, those whom you cast out and who have been passing their time in the wilderness. It is only the talent of the Province that can face an Imperialist Governor. You belonged to that circle of Talent. The Province gained in self-respect while you were at the helm. But what of your successors, and yet you have been full of praises for their 'magnificent work'. We expect of you to help Talent coming back into its own. These Sikanders and Noons must disappear, the sooner they are relegated to the back places they deserve, the better. The responsibility for this situation is yours. Don't please think for a moment that I am giving expression to these feelings under the stress of any personal grievance or any smarting sense of wrong. I have my career at the Bar, just the thing after my heart, and I am amply satisfied. But I am out to the quick when I find that as a result of your policy Muslim talent is engaged in gathering wool. The first task which merits your attention is the rallying to your side of Muslim talent. Creed-making is a very easy job. Please do look at this aspect of the matter and find a cure for it before it is too late. The Sikanders and the Noons and the rural leaders,—the favourites of the bureaucracy—can be washed away in no time but you are their prop and mainstay. This is the grievance of the Muslim against you. Are you aware of it? If not, I have taken the liberty of apprising you with it so that it may not be said that no friend opened his heart to you. You have not been fair to us. We have kept up our regard and esteem for you, and have virtually retired from the field of public service. But what youthful heart is there which does not pine at the meagreness of the opportunity to serve and advance his province under the awful conditions that your leadership have brought about? Iqbal is finished; poor Shah Nawaz is past time; Shuja gone; the only ones that thrive are the Sikanders and the Ferozes and Sir Shahabs who; else can aspire at all in the

conditions and under the terrible handicaps that exist today. Thanks to your Unionist Party and its cult, despite all creeds and programmes.

As for myself I am out of the picture and have never had any hullucinations. I am quite content with my career and so should like you to forget me in that respect. But this does not mean that the personal tie that binds me to you is snapped. I am always at your disposal and should like to see you, now that you are better. So please let me know when I should come. I have not called because of your state of health. I have been asking Mohsin constantly about you, and have not been receiving satisfactory reports. However now that you are engaged on this huge propaganda work, please let me know when I may come and have the pleasure of a frank chat.

With my sincerest regards and wishing you the best of health,

Yours sincerely,
M. Barkat Ali

448.
Secret

31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
11th April, 1936.

Dear Guru,

I wrote a letter to Craik, in which I informed him that I am one of the candidates for the Public Service Commission. He wrote back saying that my claims would be given most careful consideration, and added, "of course, you know that the appointment is made by the Secretary of State for India." I had taken the precaution of writing to Butler about this job beforehand. I enclose his letter. It is most helpful and there is now no doubt that the Secretary of State for India will back me if my name is sent even as one of the three candidates. I am grateful to the India Office people for their most kind regard for my miserable and insignificant ability. I am also sending to you Haig's letter. This, too, is most helpful. Do you think I should send these letters to Zafrullah, to be used by him as and when occasion arises,

I think I will have to pay my respects to the new Viceroy, as it is the latter who will make this appointment. In my interview, I will not, of course, mention the appointment, unless there is pressing necessity for it.

I understand that Ziauddin is trying hard for it. This seems unreasonable, as our party did everything for him last year to put him in the position of pride and honour which he now occupies.

Hassan Suhrawardy is backed strongly by Sircar, I am informed.

Delhi will be buzzing with all sorts of rumours, and I have deliberately avoided visit to it, for fear of being misunderstood. I was told yesterday by Noon and Ghulam Mohiuddin at Aligarh that you are now the undisputed leader of the Punjab. I am not surprised.

My book was received by Macmilian, and Brown who has gone through it says "it has involved an immense amount of thought and labour, and he forecasts that it will be epoch-making. Well, well, let us wait and see, as old Asquith used to say.

Shafaat Ahmad Khan

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449. Bombay,
13th April, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I feel sorry for having come to Bombay. We were placed in a difficult position.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali did not himself come in the field very often and put up Mr. Matin Choudhary to represent him. I had a long discussion with Mr. Jinnah. He was misled and was assured that the Ahrars, Moulvi Zafar Ali, Barkat Ali, Alam, Kasuri, Lal Din and others would bring a large party with the help of Jhelum and Rawalpindi which according to him were under Ghazanfar's thumb.

I tried to disillusion him but almost in vain. Finally I told him that it would be impossible for me to say anything unless I had consulted our leader. I made it clear to him that as far I could see it

was not in the interests of the Muslims to have a communal ticket in the Punjab Matin was the only representative from Bihar, 2 Bengalees were his friends, Hassan Imam was lukewarm, Madras Mayor [?] was also of this school of thought and so were 2 C. P. men.

I promised to remain neutral if the boards were not constituted in the session and that the words "having regard to the particular conditions of every province" were inserted. It was agreed.

Mr. Jinnah proposes to form the central board at Delhi on the 29th and 30th. He will be in Lahore on the 1st and 2nd of May and address public meetings at Gujranwala 3rd, Jhelum 4th and Pindi on the 5th.

I have personally no fear of these activities as far our Party is concerned but at the same time I have begun to be conscious. The Ahrars, Zafar Ali, Barkat Ali who dare not stand on any other ticket with success may have a platform where they can contest with some justification.

I wish to have a talk with Mr. Jinnah. Had I consulted you I would had offered Mr. Jinnah that all the Members who were selected for the central houses could be required to follow League policy — The League is a central body. We do not contemplate an Indian Empire but united states of India. Mr. Jinnah persuaded me to seek election from Multan to the Assembly and leave Punjab politics. I told him that our leader wanted my services and I could not leave him. My prayer is that those who made efforts to raise Mr. Jinnah in Lahore's estimation may not be placed in a position where they may have to repent.

Poor Khurshid Ali had an accident and left last night. He will report what happened in the *Pandal*. Mr. Matin wanted all the Ahraris and men of that sort (non-*Itahadis*) on the Council of the League. Raja Ghanzafar Ali apart from opposing Feroze and Col. Umar Hyat, Salik, Amiruddin also offered the name of Qureshi Mohd Hyat who is greatly responsible for his return to Council of State and Mehr Shah's return to Assembly.

I am sure that Ghazanfar was the indiscreet mouthpiece of some of our Punjabi friends and I suspect a conspiracy. He said things

abont you, Sikander and Feroze that Mr. Jinnah had to snub him at my protest. I am glad of one thing. It was decided to have Ghazanfar Ali as the General Secretary of the League. I persuaded Liaqat Ali of Karnal and it was made impossible for Ghazanfar even to stand. I am going to Ajmer and will pray for your health and success and reach Lahore on the evening of the 16th or the morning of the 17th.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

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450. Calcutta,
15th April, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks for your letters. I was laid up with fever since my arrival from Delhi on the 4th. I am better now and leave for Bombay to-morrow where my address will be

C/o Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Fort
Bombay.

I am sorry to learn that your talk with Raja Narendra Nath was disappointing. I am afraid the statement issued under the official impress of the Unionist party, after my departure from Lahore, may be to some extent responsible for his uncompromising attitude. I confess that the statement which appeared in the *Civil* and other papers struck me as extremely unfortunate in expression and wholly inopportune. One or two sentences are grossly misleading and do injustice to you as well as myself. I wonder if it was approved by you. I have been bombarded with inquiries from all quarters including my colleagues on the Government body. You will remember that among other things it was settled that if I have to return I should sever my connection with the Bank gracefully and amicably and I made it clear that if I have to ask for release I will do so about

October or November. The sensational headlines and the statement referred to above has put me in a very awkward position as naturally my Governor and others would be entitled to take exception to my taking decision without consulting or warning them which I proposed to do, if necessary, later on. Sir Shahabuddin when he came to bid good-bye on the day I was leaving asked me whether a statement should be made and I told him that if a statement was at all necessary at this stage it should be confined to a brief announcement that as a result of our conversations and in view of your health it may be necessary to recall me to assist you and in that case, probably, I may ask for my release from the Bank sometime about October or November. Chaudhri Sahib agreed that this brief statement would do, and that he would communicate my message to you. I was therefore most disagreeably surprised to see the statement purported to be from the Unionist party. I have refrained from issuing any statement hitherto in the hope that it may not be necessary to create more fuss. I however find that I will have to say something to indicate my position *vis-a-vis* the Bank, if for nothing else. However, you may rest assured, that if I do so it will not contain anything which might create a misunderstanding or in anyway embarrass you, although I feel tempted to correct the misleading statements and half truths which find a place in the Unionist party's communique. In view of my undertaking to you which I will respect again if necessary I do not propose to do anything which might be misconstrued, however sore I may feel about it.

As regards Raja Narendranath and his party I do not think it would serve any useful purpose to continue the negotiations—in view of the disappointing nature of your recent interview—at present. If necessary we can do so later when I return. I suggest that you should in your speech at the inauguration of the central office on the 19th declare in clear and unambiguous terms that we would welcome non-agriculturists of all communities into our party. Our creed is wide and devised in the common interest of all classes and creeds but if our non-agriculturist and Hindu friends desire any changes which would make it even more acceptable to them we would be glad to consider their suggestions and if possible meet them provided the

basic principles are not affected. This I consider desirable and even necessary and I trust the proposal will meet with your approval.

I enclose a cheque for Rs. 500/- as desired. (I have included Rs. 1/4/- for exchange).

I hope you are well and improving.

Calcutta is uncomfortably warm now and I am looking forward to my arrival in Bombay which is comparatively cooler this time of the year.

Please forgive this scrawl as I have a mass of arrears to clear, before I leave, which have been accumulating during my illness.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

———

451. New Delhi,
15th April, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th.

As regards the first matter, my private inquiries show that it is very hopeful. I am told that among his own people he is third or fourth, and as it is likely that five may be required, the position is quite satisfactory. I think this information is reliable but is not conclusive. As soon as I am able to find out anything more definite, I shall let you know.

As regards the second matter that you have mentioned, my own impression is that Hazrat Sahib has no intention of putting up candidates belonging to the Ahmadiyya community on the basis of an Ahmadiyya political party. This impression is, however, based only on what has happened in the past and on no definite knowledge with regard to his present intention in this respect as I have made no inquiries from him. In the past, what has happened is that if a member of the Ahmadiyya community had, on the whole, a fighting chance of standing from a particular constituency and of securing

election from that constituency, he was directed to stand as a candidate from that constituency, and in addition to the members of the community voting for him, every assistance in the way of canvassing, etc., for support was given to him. As you are aware, Pir Akbar Ali Sahib and myself are the only two members of the community who sat in the Punjab Legislative Council till my resignation from the Council when my place was taken by Asadulla Khan. Pir Sahib and myself were throughout members of the Unionist Party, though, of course, party discipline was very lax. I understand that Asadulla Khan has also been a member of the party since his election. With regard to other constituencies, you are also aware that contests were very often conducted between candidates who differed much from each other in political outlook, and whoever was successful at the polls joined the Unionist Party if his general political ontlook happened to be in accord with the principles to which the Unionist Party gave its support. In such cases, it made very little difference to the party whether out of a certain number of contesting candidates, A or B or C or D was elected. People who had to make up their minds to support one or other of the candidates were influenced by personal or tribal considerations and were not at all swayed by the consideration as to which party the candidates belonged. To what extent these conditions would continue to operate under the new Constitution and under a better defined party system, it is not possible to determine at this stage. So far as the Ahmadiyya community is concerned, the rule has been that a candidate desiring to obtain votes of electors belonging to the community has had to make a written request to the Nazir Amur Ama at Qadian and electors belonging to the community have always voted in accordance with directions issued by the Nazir Amur Ama on that behalf. I have no doubt that that arrangement will be continued. The view of the Head of the community with regard to elections to the Legislatures as well as Local Self Government Bodies is that all members of the community who are electors in a particular constituency must vote together, and that there should be no wrangle among different sections of the community simply because A. and B. are fighting an election to one of these bodies. If elections in the future are likely to be run on a strictly

party basis or ticket, it might be possible, although I have no information on the point, for a particular political party to come to an understanding with the community that the support of the electors belonging to the community should in all constituencies be given to candidates who belong to that particular political party. In that case, of course, a list of candidates finally selected by the particular party would have to be supplied to headquarters so that the necessary directions could be issued. This, of course, is a new development and I have again given only my own impression as to a feasible arrangement.

This is the way in which the arrangement has worked in the past, but as I have said above, I have no particular information as to any modifications that may be under contemplation with regard to the future. Nothing has, however, come to my knowledge so far which might lead me to think that there is any intention of running candidates as members of an Ahmadiyya party in the sense of its being a political party in the Legislature.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Zafrulla

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452. 39 Empress Road,
Lahore.
16th April, 1936.

Dear Durga Das[1],

I have not heard from you for some time. Who is your representative (meaning A. P. I.) in Lahore? He seems to be a good deal different from you or people at the headquarters. Perhaps he takes his own position to be analogous to that of a bureaucrat, and that those desiring publication of news should be asking him for his favour, to be so good as to do it. This is not very helpful.

1. This letter has been taken from Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*. (London, 1969), pp. 110-11. The words appearing in parentheses are obviously of Durga Das.

At Lucknow (where the Congress session had just concluded under Nehru's presidentship and had decided to fight the elections), though not as clear as one would have desired the decisions to be, they are probably much better than one had reason to expect them likely to be. In actual practice, the work Jawaharlal wants done in the provinces is more or less the same as the programme the Unionists have set before themselves to execute. I doubt whether he will get workers outside the range of the Unionists to carry out his programme in the Punjab.

The new Viceroy will be approaching Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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453. 39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
20th April, 1936.

My dear Azim,

Yours of the 10th April.

As to my being in the Congress—I was in the Congress in 1917-19. When the Congress started non-co-operation I left the Congress. Since then I have been outside the Congress because of its extremist policy since 1920. Now I thought the Congress has practically abandoned that policy and is reverting to the position it occupied, when I was in it. Naturally I felt it necessary to ask the Congress to make common cause with us, the Unionists, in the Punjab. I do not mind it being said that I have joined the Congress provided thereby it is meant that it is the Congress of the pre-non-cooperation days. As a matter of fact at the last session of the Congress at Lucknow the authorities of the Congress have still not made up their mind to take up the position I have advised them to take. It is not improbable that towards the end of this year they will adopt that position.

I am glad you are pursuing your legal studies. I sent you a telegram the other day asking you to concentrate on Law Examinations. You will now finish the Constitutional Law, and may be the

Roman Law. Now you should devote yourself from May till October to the study of the Family [?] and the Criminal Law, so that by November, 1936, you should have done with the Bar. This will enable you to spend the whole of your year at Oxford giving undivided attention to your training and preparation for the final I. C. S. Examination. I attach some importance to it because the final position in the seniority list is governed by the result of this examination.

As to finances, you have sufficient to last you till about the middle of May. Now I want to send money to suffice you till the beginning of October, practically five months, during which period you should take law coaching when required. I believe Rs. [?] 125/- will be plenty. I am instructing the Bank to place £125/- to your credit with Messrs Thomas Cook and Sons, London.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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454. Bombay,
21st April, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I am better now and there is nothing to worry about. The fever was due to the heat and damp of Calcutta. We arrived here on Sunday and have been able to get a fairly decent house. Bombay is comparatively cooler than Calcutta at present though it is equally damp and sticky.

Thank you very much for your views about the statement. There is no question of making amends. I would be the last person to put you in an embarrassing position. My chief worry is the impression which the statement has created among my colleagues in the Bank and the Central F. D. However I hope to be able to satisfy them without the necessity of issuing a contradiction. It is very good of you to have thought of saying something on the 19th to make the situation easier.

I do hope your health will continue to improve. I am sure that your preoccupation with the constructive work you are now doing

will on the whole prove beneficial to your health provided you do not over-exert yourself. You should confine yourself to giving instructions to your assistants and vetting their drafts where necessary. Even this would mean a great deal of work and should be done judiciously keeping in view the paramount view of keeping fit and not overstraining yourself as we would like you to eat the mangoes. The grafted plant be one fruit earlier than the '*Katta*', and better fruit and I hope and pray that you would be spared for having to enjoy it for many years to come.

I am glad the response to the request for funds is encouraging. What about Sardar Mohd Nawaz Khan of Kot, Malik Mohd Amir Khan of Kalabagh, Captain Khizar Hayat, N. Malik Allah Bakhsh, etc. They ought to contribute handsomely. What do you think of the proposal that all candidates should contribute Rs. 500/- to the party funds ½ of which should be returned if the candidate is unsuccessful? The contribution could be reduced or waived entirely in special cases.

I understand (from Ashiq's telegram just received) that Malik Din Murid Husain [?] is also a candidate. The other candidate I presume must be Jilani [?]. Don't you think an effort should be made to settle the matter amicably, by drawing lots or if necessary by selecting a neutral candidate acceptable to both parties. I have replied to Ashiq accordingly and you might if you deem it proper ask Ahmad Yar also to move on similar lines, to avoid bitterness and unnecessary expense. I am also writing to Ahmad Yar.

I hope the inauguration of the central office on the 19th went off successfully.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sikander Hyat

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455. Prince of Wales College,
Private Jummu.
23rd April, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I am here in Jummu from the morning of the 13th instant conducting the University Examinations, and will remain here till 28th April. I have during these days read your speech delivered on the occasion of opening your Party Headquarters Offices. I have also read the interview of Raja Narendra Nath published in the *Tribune*. This morning I read a "Leader" in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, dated Wednesday the 22nd instant, to which the Editor gives the significant Heading "In the Melting Pot". The impression which I have gathered during the last few months is, and it is strengthened by this leader, that the Europeans want Sir Sikander and not you to form the first ministry of the Autonomous Punjab. The bulk of the Hindus and the Sikhs in the province also seem to have a greater confidence in Sir Sikander. But many of us believe that Sir Sikander Hayat will be a very pliable tool in the hands of Sir Herbert Emerson. It seems the Hindus and the Sikhs have less faith, in doing them justice, in Sir Herbert than they may have in you. This is what I feel. When I met you in February last, I had an occasion to discuss the subject of our interview with Raja Narendra Nath. He pointedly expressed his view that if an understanding could be arrived at, he could trust you better than the present Head of the Punjab Government, in doing justice to the Hindus. Raja Sahib however thinks, and it also appears from his interview in the *Tribune*, that the existence of separate communal electorates will not enable you to follow a strictly national and economic policy as you have proposed in future to do. I realise that separate electorates will make the persuit of this policy difficult. But I am sure the difficulties are not insurmountable. You possess a strength of will which few other political leaders in this province possess. Among the Muslims, I should think, you are perhaps the only one at the present moment, who could curb and keep in check the communal ambitions of your community. I wanted to discuss this aspect of the question with Raja

Narendra Nath, after I had met you on the 6th instant. I rang him up, but could not get any time to see him, and then I had to dispose of other private work of mine, before I came away. I had no opportunity to see him or to communicate with him. But I feel it would be very profitable to the national interests of the province, if you and Raja Narendra Nath could meet together and come to some understanding, as you have already come to with Sir Sikander Hayat. I have long thought over the questions which at the present moment divide the Hindus from the Muslims. Of course there are fanatics on both sides, among the Muslims as well as the Hindus, and among the Agriculturists as well as the non-Agriculturists. I have known Raja Narendra Nath for the last 18 years. I think he is no fanatic. He has his own views about rights and wrongs, and he sometimes expresses himself in a strong language. No one can theoretically quarrel with your programme of uplifting the poor and the depressed, without at the same time expropriating the rich and the advanced. It is an ideal programme. People may however doubt its practicability, specially in view of the communal and sectional wrangles we have in the Province. Some people think communal and sectional influences may in actual practice prove too powerful even for you. I believe you will not find Raja Sahib and people of his mentality unreasonable. If you two could combine, and arrive at some understanding, which I believe will not be difficult to do, you can form a very stable ministry, just the thing distracted Punjab wants at the moment. Raja Sahib combines in himself an aristocrat, a bureaucrat, and a liberal educated gentleman. For this reason he commands immense influence, both among the educated as well as the *reis* class Hindus. A combination with him will mean that you will be able to command a very comfortable majority in the legislature. It will also mean one other important result. If Hindus and Muslims, and Agriculturists and non-Agriculturists could combine on one common national economic programme, it will become impossible for the Governor to exercise his powers of special responsibility under the new constitution. We can then have real responsible government in the province. Is it not worth while to attempt it? I would like to see you and discuss this matter with you when I reach Lahore on the 29th instant.

What time will suit you?

Yours sincerely,
Gulshan Rai,
Prince of Wales College,
Jummu.

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456. 39 Empress Road,
Lahore.
24th April, 1936.

My dear Sikander,

I am glad to hear that you are better and found Bombay more salutary than Calcutta. I am better and probably you are right it is the work that properly keeps me going otherwise I am really very weak.

As to the news of your returning to the Punjab politics—as you know this has been afloat since a long time and I apprehended that any authorities might make a fuss of it. I suppose it was the authentic nature of the previous announcement and comparatively well authentic nature of this which make the difference. In my statement on the 19th I did my best I could do. I am assured by Maqbool and a host of other friends that it was suitable.

Our office is working and working hard. The Secretaries are doing very good but still you know part-time workers especially honorary cannot do very much. I want whole-time hands who have worked, and this is not easy to find. However I will do my best to get suitable people.

As to donations, they are coming in. Mohd Nawaz of Kot has very generously offered to give 5 thousands and has sent in a cheque of one thousand. Allah Bakhsh has promised three thousand. Khizar has been approached but has not yet answered, while Kala Bagh has not yet been approached.

As to fixing Chief of all the candidates I do not like it but as it is from many cases candidates have already written to say that they would like to join and have also offered donations; so what you

suggest will be acted upon in practice. But you will agree with me that it would be ever so much better if we do not make any rule which is liable to be severely criticised. As to Legislative Assembly election on the 19th I was hopeful that we will have a sort of amicable settlement by making Jilani and Makhdum candidates agree upon good English knowing representative, but Riza Shah did not turn up although he had promised to come. I consulted Mohd Niwaz and Firoz and others and found in view of the 21st being the nomination day this scheme must be abandoned and rendered the chances of a compromise more remote. I am afraid the situation in Multan is unsatisfactory and we will not find it easy to bring about a good understanding. However one should not despair and do what he can.

Our function on the 19th was much better success than I had anticipated in my statement with which, when I had dictated it, I was not at all satisfied. It was discovered by those who heard it and subsequently read it to be not too bad.

As we anticipated our demonstration of mutual good will has not been but pleasing in some quarters and the usual mischief through those individuals who may not but have been officially affected thereby is not unlikely. Therefore such safeguard as you may consider feasible might be employed before much mischief is done.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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457. 39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
27th April, 1936.

Dear Azim,

I have already advised you about devoting yourself to the Law Examination. Your result is not yet out, but there is a strong rumour afloat that you have done well, still there is no official announcement of the result one cannot be, therefore, certain.

Unionist Party organisation is in hand. The provincial organisation at Headquarters in working under my chairmanship. Efforts are being made to open branches in every Tehsil and in every city with the population of 30,000 and above.

The pamphlet "Punjab Politics by a Punjabee" has received a good deal of currency. I hope Sir Abdul Qadir has got a large number of copies of it and is taking steps to circulate it.

You have asked me about Rishad. Wajahat made certain enquiries about him. I made enquiries too through Bajpai and one or two more friends. The result has been quite satisfactory. His father was a man of property and position and influence. He left behind him two sons of whom Rishad is the eldest. His income from the property is not very large but fairly good. You know he is well educated and all the enquiries made indicate that he is very well behaved. I met him here and he strikes me as a man with a nice quiet disposition. We all in the family discussed the matter and came to the conclusion that it was a suitable match for Asaf: and so the matter was settled two days ago and the terms of contract of marriage are to be the same as in the case of Akhtari. Begam Shahid Husain insisted on an early Nikah. We have given her, her way and 8th of May has been fixed as the date of Nikah and some date early in November will be fixed for the marriage.

I am sending you £125/- which is sufficient to last you till you go to the University in October. I enclose a second[?] of exchange to you.

Yours affectionately,
Fazl-i-Husain

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458. Bombay,
1st May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,
Thanks for yours.

I have been busy looking for a house hence the delay in answering your letter. We have found a nice little house in Bandra. It is someway from office but it is right on the sea and is neat and clean

and the air there is much nicer and cooler. It means a 35 minutes run to the office and back but it is worth it and incidentally the rent is comparatively more reasonable—900/- as compared with 1400/- in Bombay proper for a cooped up place.

I am glad the office is working hard and satisfactorily. I am sure you will be able to get suitable paid workers but you will have to look round. You will have to be careful that the men you employ are reliable so as to avoid the danger of leakage and intrigue.

As regards fixing a fee for candidates I agree that there should be nothing in the value about it. The candidates will themselves very likely contribute according to their means. As for donations, Kalabagh should certainly be approached, perhaps through S. Mohd Nawaz Khan of Kot, and we should also tap Multan Division. Ahmad Yar may be able to suggest suitable names.

It is a pity that the Multan affair could not be settled amicably. Multan as you know is notorious for factions and is likely to give us trouble. However as you say we should not despair. I am glad the function on the 19th was a success. Your statement I am afraid was not fully or properly reproduced in the press. The version circulated by the A. P. I. to papers here was somewhat different from the typed copy of your speech sent to me with other papers by the Secretariat. Even the Punjab papers made several slips. However I am glad that it received a good reception from those who were present and can best judge.

I am sorry to learn that some people are trying to create mischief. I have received disquieting news from other sources. I would be glad to take any steps which you might suggest in the light of happenings there, with which I am of course only casually and scrappily conversant. Ahmad Yar wrote to me that some attempt was being made to egg on the Ahrars and other opportunists. If you could give me the details—which you may rest assured will be treated as strictly confidential and not go beyond me—I will try to do what I can. Ahmad Yar's letter was somewhat hesitant and vague, apparently because he was afraid that if he mentioned the names of those whom he suspected I might be displeased. I can only guess to whom

he is referring but I fancy that I have guessed aright and I have asked Ahmad Yar not to hesitate in giving me the full facts even if it be my own brother. I am awaiting details from him before doing anything further. I shall be grateful if you will also discard any feeling of delicacy and hesitancy in exposing the culprits as it is easier to nip the evil in the bud than if it takes root and spreads.

If Muzaffar [?] is not playing the game he should be told so and if you do not wish to do it I will do it if I am satisfied that he has anything to do with it. Meanwhile I have asked Ahmad Yar to convey to Jinnah to live up to his professed views that he "wants Muslims to be one united body and to speak with one voice both to the Congress and the British". His activities during the past few weeks, judging from the press reports, are contrary to his professions. I have also asked Ahmad Yar to strongly press on him the advisability of keeping his finger out of the Punjab pie. If he meddles he would only be encouraging fissiparous tendencies already painfully discernible in a section of Punjab Muslims, and might burn his fingers; and in any case we cannot possibly allow 'provincial autonomy' to be tampered with in any sphere, and by anybody be he a nominee of the powers who have given us this autonomy or a President of the Muslim League or any other association or body.

I have also asked him to convey my considered opinion to Jinnah that apart from losing the prestige and respect which he has gained in the Shahidganj affair he will be interfering and encouraging Ahrars or other disgruntled and ambitious opportunists [and] reduce the precarious majority of the Muslims in the only province where they can do real service provided they hold together. I wonder if Ahmad Yar conveyed my message fully and bluntly as I asked him to do and if he did, whether it has had any effect.

I have seen Raja Sahib's manifesto. Except for certain matters of detail I have no quarrel with it. As a matter of fact after seeing your note regarding your interview with Raja Sahib I wrote to him and expressed my disappointment and asked him not to do or say anything which would make a settlement more difficult. He assured me that he would keep the contentious issues out of his manifesto and

I am gratified that he has kept his promise. I however confess that I do not like this Hindu and Narendranath baiting by the Muslim press—Headlines describing the manifesto as a 'triumph of the Unionist party and Sir Fazli Husain'. You will, I am sure, agree with me that this sort of baiting is not going to do any good and might do a great deal of harm and it should be left to the Hindu press to do the baiting. If the issue is left to the Hindus to decide—as it should be—it will have the useful effect of clarifying their position and in helping to crystalise the various viewpoints and sorting out the various groups into distinct political parties and bring into clear relief the demarcation, which is at present vague and nebulous. It would then be easier to negotiate with the group or party which is nearest to our viewpoint. What I am afraid of is that this kind of cynical provocation might make those who may be thinking of joining hands with us hesitate and even retract what they have said. If you agree, as I hope you will, with my view will you kindly give a hint to the Muslim press that the issue should be left to the Hindus to fight out among themselves and we should do nothing to provoke them, or say anything which may savour of taking sides *at this stage.*

Now as regards myself, I understand Sir James Grigg and others are very annoyed. I do not blame them as they were told by Zafrulla and others that I had definitely decided to leave the Bank in October. Sir James is coming here on the 9th for a day and will no doubt trouble me. To enable me to give him some definite indication of my intentions I want your advice and frank expression of views on the following:—

(*i*) Do you think it would be necessary for me to come, if God willing your health continues to improve as I pray and hope it will. My own view is that it may be necessary if we can persuade—as I am hoping we will be able to do, a sufficient number of non-agriculturist Hindus to join hands with the Unionists.

(*ii*) Do you apprehend that the defections from Muslims for personal motives—I do not anticipate many desertions on questions of principle or policy—would be on such a scale as to endanger the solidarity of the party and jeopardise the

almost certain prospect (at present) of it being the majority party? If the answer is in the affirmative would it be worthwhile for you to tax your already scanty physical resources, and for me to sacrifice my prospects and a comfortable and, if I may say so from the wider point of view, a useful and important post for what? A mess of pottage?

(*iii*) If I continue to serve and support you and the party and my friends also continue to work faithfully and wholeheartedly as at present don't you think it might stabilise the cohesion of those who may be feeling that my return would deprive them of getting a place in the upper circle if they were assured that there was no likelihood of my returning and ousting them but that my support will remain with the party.

(*iv*) If you came to the conclusion that my return to the province is necessary for the sake of the community and the province would you advise taking a definite decision now and declaring it or deferring it till say October or November.

I shall be grateful for your frank and early advice to enable me to adopt the right course in my interview with the Finance Member. I need hardly say that my colleagues are strongly opposed to my leaving the Bank.

In view of the speculations in the press and rumours in Delhi which are still afloat I have been advised to issue a brief statement. I have sent one which must have been shown to you by Ahmad Yar and Maqbul. You will notice that the statement is confined to a bare recital of facts and I have taken care to avoid any kind of controversy by saying anything which might be misconstrued as being in conflict with your speech or statement. I hope you will approve of it. Let us see how it is taken by the Hindus whom we want to bring in.

I hope you and Yours are quite well and flourishing.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

P. S.

What has annoyed my Governor and Sir James Grigg more than anything else is the constant stream of requests in person and by letters from a large number of candidates for my post.

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459. The Daily "Siyasat",
Lahore.
4th May, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

I have been out of Lahore on public work and have, therefore, not been able to communicate with you.

On my return yesterday, I learnt that you had sent word, that you would be pleased to see Mr. Shamsud Din Hasen Sahib, as suggested by me, but that you were ill and have, therefore, postponed it. I thank you for this assurance. I have informed Mr. Hasan accordingly.

I am. however, grieved to learn that you are not keeping good health and pray that you may recover soon. Amen.

I suggested your meeting Raja Narindera Nath Sahib. I, further, requested you to kindly define the position of the *Siyasat vis-a-vis* your party. I am still waiting a reply.

I once annoyed you, by telling you, that S. Afzal Ali Hasni and some others were traitors in your camp. I am sorry to note that my fears have proved only too true. The secrets of your office are not safe.

Yesterday Dr. Shuja-ud-Din, in a meeting of the Council of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, asked me, if I had written to you to the effect that the Doctor would oppose us in the next election. I had to tell him that I had; and further, gave it as my reason that his conduct in the Anjuman gave me that idea which according to my information

was against express wishes of Sir Fazli Hosen. Waiting for your decision has injured my cause to this extent that Khan Bahadur Sh. Mohammad Ismail has already promised his vote to Dr. Mohammad Alam. The Khan Bahadur has now agreed to support me though he believes his personal vote must needs go to the Doctor.

Mian Sahib, I have not approached any party for cooperation in the next election but yours. I have not obtained any idea from any other party. If I am unable to co-operate with your party I will not join any other party on any terms.

Leaving your party will be a great shock to me. I do not agree with you that this will be so on account of financial reasons. Lack of proper appreciation would perhaps be a better expression.

With best regards and good wishes for your health.

Yours sincerely,
Syed Habib

Honble
Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Mian
Fazli Hosen Sahib,
M. A., LL. D., K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.,
Bar-at-Law.
Bakrohta Hall,
Dalhousie.

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460.

Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Bombay.
4th May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I hope you received my previous letter sent under registered cover. I enclose a cutting from the *Times of India* daily of today's

date.[1] Presumably it is a distorted and exaggerated account, as usual. I am however not a little worried that Mr. Jinnah should have thought fit to encourage defections. It is difficult to get a correct appreciation and perspective of the happenings there by correspondence and consequently even more difficult to suggest remedies. I should be grateful if you would kindly allow Ahmad Yar to come here for a day or two. His work can during his absence be given to one of his colleagues. I am writing to Ahmad Yar also that he should obtain your permission and come here for a couple of [days] if he can conveniently come.

What was the result of the Assembly election for the Multan seat? The poll must have taken place by the time you got there.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

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461. 39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
6th May, 1936.

Dear Sikander,

Yours of the 1st reached me on the 3rd and I read it over again the

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1. Reproduced below:—

MUSLIM UNITY IN PUNJAB—Mr. Jinnah's Efforts—LAHORE, May 2. Punjab politics bids fair to undergo a new orientation under Mr. Jinnah's efforts. While Mr. Jinnah's efforts to persuade Sir Fazl-i-Husain and his party (Unionist) to come into line with the scheme of the Muslim League do not appear to have succeeded, he is stated to be hopeful of amalgamating the solid block consisting of the Ahrars and the Majlis Ittihad Millat under the leadership of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and another section headed by Sir Mohd Iqbal.

It appears that Sir Fazl-i-Husain told Mr. Jinnah that the reason for his not co-operating with the League was that he saw no advantage in doing so, as he had already been assured of sufficient support under the Unionist Party scheme from the Hindus and the Sikhs which would give him a clear majority and enable his party to form Government. The attitude of the Ahrars has not been finally communicated to Mr. Jinnah, but the latter is understood to be hopeful of their support and hopes to be able to make an official statement on the results of his conversations before his departure from Lahore. *Times of India*, 4th May, 1936.

4th and have made enquiries into some of the matters you mentioned in your letter and was going to send you a detailed reply when I received just now your second letter of the 4th asking me to let Ahmad Yar come as you considered the matter very important and feel the need of a personal talk. I agree with you that correspondence can never take the place of a talk. I at once telephoned to Ahmad Yar and have asked him to leave tonight for Bombay. So you see I have not allowed any avoidable delay in the matter. Ahmad Yar have had discussions with me and if after talking to him there are any questions you would like to put to me to be answered I would be delighted to answer them.

It has become very hot and I have decided to leave Lahore on the morning of the 12th. Ahmad Yar will reach you on the morning of the 8th and if he has talk with you on the 8th and the 9th and leaves on the afternoon of the 9th he can see me here on the morning of the 11th. But this is not very important. He can return to Lahore and can come to me to Abbotabad or Dalhousie if it is necessary to do so. You seem to be so much disturbed in mind that there is no work here more important than complying with your wishes in the matter of sending Ahmad Yar to Bombay. As to Jinnah, I agree with all that you have said in your 1st letter to me. Jinnah's move in establishing a Central Parliamentary Board of the League was a wrong move, detrimental to Indian Muslims' interests. We have taken the right line. He has misrepresented us and the press propaganda in his support is responsible for his utter failure not having been broadcasted. We refused to join with him, Ittihad-i-Millat has refused to join him. Ahrar have been negotiating with him. Whether they join him or not their position *quo* us remains the same. Miscellaneous Urbanites like Iqbal, Shuja, Tajuddin, Barkat Ali have naturally been trying to make something out of this. Why Jinnah has not done what any ordinary practical man would have done – revive the Provincial League and give it a good start and stress the need of opening its branches in all the districts. He has done seemingly nothing except talk and talk and talk. He apparently believed that he was so clever that he will get people to agree to become his nominees and serve on the Central Board and then they will be responsible for

running the elections in the province. So the scheme is purely a paper one.

As regards Raja Sahib's manifesto and his explanation they are good. They bring us and Raja Sahib much nearer together. As to the tactics I agree with you. We don't want to do any propaganda except this that we don't want to make out that we do not appreciate a larger number of points in the manifesto on which Raja Sahib and we agree. I will caution our friends not to push the argument of identity of creed too far.

I feel very tired and weary. I have not the energy to bear interviews especially the longer ones. The strain some times has been too great and my weight just now is lower than it was ever before and I am keenly looking forward to leave Lahore on the 12th.

You will be glad to hear that we have secured the services of Amjad Ali son of Syed Maratab Ali as a whole time worker from the beginning of this month and he will stay with us for the rest of the year and may be even a little longer. This is an acquisition inasmuch as Ahmad Yar cannot be tied down to the office as the most valuable part of his work lies in seeing people and visiting and so on. Maqbul is most valuable worker but his time is so taken up by Patiala and others that the uncertainty as to his movements has much reduced his utility to the Organisation. I wish I could get a really good drafting man and one who could write fluently and accurately as a permanent worker and Maqbul's help would be most welcome whenever he is able to give it. But the work must go on and this can only happen under the arrangement I have just mentioned. Have you any one in mind ?

With best wishes,

Yours most sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

————

462. Delhi,

8th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I am distressed to hear what happened yesterday, am had a

sleepless night. Let me assure you that the draft was not of Sikander's and that it should not have been given to you and that no one else besides Maqbul and myself know of it. I only consulted a friend who is not in politics and whose opinion I value. He is like brother to me.

I will see that Sikander phones you up on Sunday.

For God sake don't disturb yourself for a second. Sikander will behave like a son to you.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

———

463. *Frontier Mail,*
9th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

The train is nearing Bombay. I have just read at Palghat in *Times* a summary of Iqbal & Co's statement.

I am sorry Shah Nawaz, Shujauddin and Abdul Aziz are misled by our friends to join the League and were given hopes that the League would capture several rural seats and I made it clear to them that they were misleading those who consulted them in confidence. I will tell Sikander straight away that I can not carry on with those who were his friends and through him my friends as well (though they are no more his friends now) and in order to be true to my party I must bid good-bye to their friendship. If I remain their friend I can not be true to my party unless I play the role of a spy and on the other hand if I am true to my party I cannot remain their friend without playing the role of a traitor.

I have drafted a telegram to the office and before others are caught in League's net all the leaders of Unionists (from all districts) should find a reply to it.

I hope I will come successful.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

———

464. 26, Carter Road,
Bandra,
Confidential Bombay,
Personal 11/12th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I have done my best and am doubtful of my complete success. Bhai Sikander and myself have been drafting the reply to your letter.

I may have an honest difference of opinion.

I hope you reach Lahore on the 14th. As a matter of fact I could leave today but I don't wish to displease an old and a very dear friend.

The worries are too much to keep one happy and I have decided to get out of everything and work for the Party. I gave you my word of honour on the evening of the 4th of April and confirmed it with my letter the next morning and all my efforts will be to do all I can to make you successful and will be very fortunate if all my friends fit themselves in my programme, otherwise I can't leave or change my course that I have decided to adopt. This is final word from me.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

————

465. The "Daily Siyasat",
Lahore.
12th May, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

I wish you a very happy journey and sojourn at Dalhousie. May God grant you health and success in your new work.

I have spoken to my brother and it appears that the article, though published in a later issue, was actually written before I could speak to my brother regarding my talk with you. This was so because, my brother happened to be away from office on account of serious illness of one of his sons.

Let me, however, add that I have a great regard for your opinion. The fact that Sir Emerson is a hard man and can become harder was well known to me before I started my compaign against

him. This did not and cannot influence my policy. I shall, however, abide by the promise that I have given you.

Unless I have a list of gentlemen of Lahore who have agreed to cooperate with you, I cannot recommend names to whom the Lahore office can be entrusted.

The proposal made by you regarding the cooperation of my paper with your Party does not appeal to me. I would have submitted my proposals, but gulf, between my ideas and yours, is so great that I do not think it will serve any purpose whatsoever.

With renewed good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Syed Habib

Khan Bahadur Mian Sir
Fazli Hussain Sahib, M. A., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Empress Road,
Lahore.

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466. 26, Carter Road,
Bandra.
13th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

After all Sikander seems to have agreed and I hope to leave tonight. I am greatly disturbed to find that friends like even Sikander suspect me when I cannot honestly agree. In our unfortunate province merit does not count but if merit is combined with office then there is no difficulty.

Mitra is coming and has relinquished his charge. If your health permits it will be better if you take over in June and when necessary you can be returned from my constituency.

Hope you are quite well.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

467.
Confidential
& Personal

Reserve Bank (Central Office),
Fort, Bombay,
13th May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I duly received your letter of the 4th instant, for which many thanks. I have since received your letter of the 7th also, which has come to me as a most painful surprise. Your analytical comments on my statement, which I sent through Maqbool, are so uncharitable, farfetched, and unjustified, that I am compelled—though reluctantly—to enter a protest. I, therefore, propose writing to you frankly and in some detail, not merely to vindicate my own position, which is only a secondary consideration, but also to assure you of the *bona fides* of Maqbool and others who have been loyally working for you and the party. The statement under reference was drafted by me here, and was sent to Maqbool with the request that it should be shown to you for making any modifications which you may consider necessary, and that thereafter it should be issued with an explanatory note, which might leave no doubt regarding our relations and eliminate possibility of my statement being misunderstood or misconstrued; and that it should, in particular, prominently reiterate my previous declarations to the effect that there was no question of rivalry, between us, over the leadership of the Unionist Party, and that I was as willing as ever to work with you, if need be even as a back-bencher.

This being my position, I cannot, for the life of me, understand what made you put uncharitable interpretation on my draft statement. Had it been my intention to issue the statement with the motives, which you seem to have unjustly ascribed to me, you would have been the last person to whom I would send it for approval and revision. This fact alone is sufficient to prove my *bona fides*; moreover, if I had any sinister motives I would hardly ask Maqbool and Ahmad Yar, in the same letter in which I sent them my draft statement, to see Raja Narindra Nath also in order to invoke his good offices for restoring the chances, of his party and the Unionists working together, which existed prior to the release of your

"hurried", and, if I may repeat what I said before, unfortunate statement. That statement, I am given to understand had seriously impaired the chances of non-Agriculturist Hindus joining hands with the Unionist Party, and my utility in bringing them together. Moreover, you will, I trust, admit that I would have been perfectly justified, on your own precedent, in issuing my statement without even showing it to you. You may be aware that there are people who have been attributing uncharitable motives to you for issuing that hurried statement. They even go so far as to allege that the statement was deliberately designed to alienate from me the good-will of my Hindu and Sikh friends. But notwithstanding such insinuations —which personally I refuse to accept—and despite certain obviously unfortunate and shortsighted passages in that statement, and the fact that it was issued without being shown to me, I did not allow my complete faith in your *bona fides* to be shaken or affected. Nor did I allow various misleading and unwarranted references published after my recent visit to Lahore to stampede me into issuing any rejoinder—public or private.

As such, you will forgive me if I am sorely disappointed at your attitude as disclosed in your recent note. You have known me sufficiently long to appreciate that it is foreign to my nature to adopt any underhand or unsavoury tactics. You also know that I am not afraid of crossing swords openly and above-board when I am forced into a fight; and that when I give my word I mean what I say and stand by it. It would be against my traditions and upbringing to act otherwise. Moreover, where was the necessity for me to adopt a tortuous or roundabout course when you yourself were, and still are, prepared to give me the option of assuming leadership if I so desired. Had my intention been merely to acquire power or leadership of the Unionist Party for myself, I could have frankly claimed it from you by taking you at your own word, or else could have accepted the invitation of those who asked me to form and lead a party of my own. I can assure you that my not resorting to any of these alternatives was deliberate, and was due to my earnest desire to serve the best interests of the Province, to avoid split among Muslims and others and to my personal regard for you. In view of all these facts, I

expected and deserved better of you than what is revealed in your unjustified reactions to, and unwarranted interpretations of, my draft statement. I am confident that when you give my statement a calm and dispassionate consideration in the light of the above observations, you will yourself realise the injustice of your comments.

May I also briefly explain what I really intended to convey in my statement, in order to convince you that your charitable [*sic.*] conclusions are irreconcilable with the text of my statement as well as with the spirit in which it was conceived. I will take your points one by one:—

(*a*) Apparently, your remarks under (a) refer to the following passage in my statement. "His friends however continued to press him; Sikh, Hindu and some Muslim friends on the ground that communal tension, mistrust and bitterness was likely to be accentuated with the approach and advent of the new Reforms and would seriously hamper the smooth working of the new constitutional machinery, unless somebody who enjoyed the confidence of all communities and interests was forthcoming to bridge the gulf and to restore harmony and re-establish mutual confidence."

This is merely the reproduction of their views as conveyed to me. It is not necessary to discuss the justification or merits of such views; but the fact remains that they have been voiced both publicly—in press and from platform—as well as privately.

(*b*) This appears to have been due to an inexplicable misreading of the following passage in my statement. "It was suggetted that Sir Sikander should come back *to assist in*, and if necessary to undertake the whole responsibility for, organizing the party—which was to be non-communal and free from sectarian or class restrictions or prejudices—and that pending his return Sir Fazli should start and carry on the work with the assistance of Sir Sikander's friends." This passage is meant to convey nothing more or less than what you and Sir Shahabuddin told me, *viz.*, that in view of your indifferent health and for the sake of the Province and the com-

munity I should come back, to assist you in organizing the party on agreed lines and when necessary relieve you of the burden by assuming full responsibility. I may also remind you that the suggestion that pending my return you would, in spite of your indifferent health, carry on the work single-handed with such of my friends who could conveniently and usefully undertake to assist you came from you; and it was in deference to your wishes that I suggested the names of Ahmad Yar and Maqbool and took them to you. It would be clear from this, that the passage under reference was neither intended, nor can it fairly be interpreted, to mean that "On S's return you will hand over the work to him."

[Pp. 5—6 of the original are missing]

......in my stating the fact that I had asked my friends to work under you and assist in the task of organizing the party in deference to your own wishes.

In view of the aforesaid statement of facts, it is hardly necessary to enter into any unpleasant and useless controversy over the exact purport, spirit, or meaning of our conversations at Lahore. Unless any one of us was talking with mental reservation (which I on my own part was not doing, nor did I think that you were doing so) I see no justification or need, whether on your part or mine, to attempt to strain the text or implications of our frank conversation and unreserved exchange of views. I do not wish to dilate further on this painful subject. You know perfectly well, as I do, what we both said and meant. As I have already stated, I on my part stand by what I said and I naturally expect you to do the same.

I deeply appreciate, and notwithstanding your note under reply, reciprocate the generous references and intentions which you have expressed in your letter and to my friends, and have now repeated in your message through Ahmad and Maqbool. On my part let me once again assure you—and I hope it will not be necessary for me to repeat it—that despite the utter disregard for my feelings evinced in the issue of your "hurried" statement and recent note, I never had, nor have, any intention, for reasons already explained of challenging

your leadership or otherwise embarrassing you by queering the pitch by any action on my part. May I hope that my repeated assurances will now finally set at rest your own anxiety, and put an end, once for all, to the nefarious machinations of mischief makers. Confidence begets confidence; and until I received your note I was happy in the belief that our mutual relations and trust transcended the possibility of such misunderstandings or such susceptibility to petty intrigues. I hope you will forgive me for remarking that a General cannot expect to win the confidence of his comrades-at-arms or followers and to lead them to victory, unless he concerns himself with safe-guarding of their interests and vindicating of their position even more jealously than his own undisputed leadership.

I am extremely sorry that I should have unconsciously added to your worries and anxieties in the present state of your health, by proposing to issue my draft statement. I cannot reconcile your note with the kind message, you sent me a few days ago through Maqbool, that you will be willing to issue any statement, which I may desire, to vindicate my position. Anyhow, in view of your feelings in the matter, I have decided to abandon the idea of issuing my statement. This however does not imply that you should not issue any further statement, if you so desire, in your interest or that of the party.

I must now acquaint you with my future plans. Let me first repeat the assurance, which I gave you and other friends, that I shall not allow my prospects here, or other considerations of a personal nature to stand in the way of seeking my release from the Bank if my services are needed in the Province. Your kind message, delivered by Ahmad Yar and Maqbool, that you need me and would throw over the work yourself unless you were assured of my return to the Punjab, makes it even more difficult for me to refuse. Before taking final action in the matter, however, I must await your considered reply to the questions conveyed in my last letter, which were dictated from your view-point more than my own, as to whether it was worth-while further straining your already indifferent state of health, and my relinquishing my post here, unless you are satisfied that there is a reasonable prospect of our being able to contribute usefully and

constructively towards ameliorating the condition of the Province and its people under the new dispensation. This will not be possible from the opposition benches, or even from the Treasury benches without a stable and reliable majority. Personally, I am confident that, by God's Grace, standing together we can meet any contingency, but you must on your side also weigh and consider all possible eventualities. If after considering all pros and cons involved, you still consider that I should come, I will not fail you. The actual date of my return to the Punjab, however, must be determined by so many factors; but my genuine desire to respond to your cordial and pressing summons and to relieve you of the drudgery and strain of all but big items of policy, and more important details, at the earliest possible moment, will prove the most decisive factor. In this connection, please let me know whether cou could get an opportunity of sounding the Governor, on the lines of your talk with me, regarding Firoze's successor and the other changes in cabinet, in the event of my return to Punjab in or about October next. In the meantime, I will keep in communication with Raja Sahib and other Hindu friends, while you are at Dalhousie.

Sir James Grigg, as I anticipated, shares the view-point of my colleagues in the Bank and does not favour my severing connection with the Reserve Bank. I told him, however, that if I am needed in the Punjab, I will have to return, and that I would give him a definite indication later, and also reasonable notice. I confess that your last note made it difficult for me to tell him definitely of my intention to return to the Punjab....

[Further page/s of the original are missing]

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hayat Khan

468.

Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie.
15th May, 1936.

Dear Sik,

Yours of the 13th reached me today.

I am very grateful to you for your generous sentiments and forbearance but you and your friends find my leadership in the matter of the statements issued on 1st April 1936, defective especially in the matter of your position in the party and your statements in reply to Hindu offer to you. As soon as I came to know of it, I offered to make matters clear as I understood them. Your two friends expressed complete satisfaction but you were apparently not and are not satisfied. From 1st April to 8th May, I have slaved [?] for this party, but you were the chief beneficiary. I have failed to retain your confidence and gladly retire from leadership and from public political life, so you should return at once and assume leadership and need apprehend no trouble of any kind from me. As I will have abandoned politics completely there will be no difficulty in my agreeing to any statements you may wish to issue, only you can have no objection to my explaining to the public the circumstances which led to my decision. I wish you, your friends and the party every success.

Yours sincerely,

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. Fazl-i-Husain

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469. Lahore.

15th May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

The Ahraris are holding a public meeting at Baghbanpura on the 16th tomorrow. Malak Mohd Din Municipal President came to see Mian Sahib this morning. He related your talk with Mr. Kaiser on the 13th and he is of opinion that it is high time that Zafar Ali is secured and something paid to him. He also gave the information that Zafar Ali is being approached by the Jinnah people and that they are trying to have a joint statement from Zafar Ali and M. Ishak Mansabrawi. [?]

Malak Mohd Din thinks that Zafar Ali assisted by Pir Mohd Shah can very successfully hold a meeting at Baghbanpura or anywhere else and counteract Ahrar influence. Mohd Shah is no doubt very useful and really effective against Ataullah Bukhari and Co. Pir Mohd Shah also came to see me yesterday and discussed the Ahrar meeting at Baghbanpura and offered to counteract it effectively. His association can function and will have to be helped.

Malak Sahib suggested a thousand to Zafar Ali at once and a couple of hundred monthly. He says it should be done without even Kaiser knowing about it.

The Ahrar's idea seems to be to hold meetings first in the suburbs of Lahore and then attempt one in the city.

We have had a shower last night and the weather is cooler today.

Sir Feroz Khan left for Simla last night. He thinks he might have to leave for London in June next. He is expected to know about it definitely at Simla.

Trusting this will find you in better health.

Yours sincerely,
Amiruddin

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470. Rohtak,
15th May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I had a talk with Chaudhri Lal Chand yesterday. He was in a more reasonable mood than I expected. He promised entirely to stand aside. Of course, I will help him to become Chairman of the District Board. He also expects you and me to do all we can to secure him some decent position. This is only natural, and there is no reason why we should not accede to his request.

I am sending you two alternative drafts A and B to be sent to the press to clinch the position and to produce some moral effect. I prefer A to B. A is mine with the last sentence added in order to assure Chaudhri Lal Chand. Personal notes in B are largely modelled on the sentiments of Ch. Lal Chand in my language.

C contains personal notes as drafted by Chaudhri Lal Chand. Of course, he does not insist on them. I send them on for what they are worth. They are utterly unacceptable to me.

His mood may be the result of his talk with you or of his negotiations with Hindu Sabha people or both. I understand urban Hindus were unable to offer him Raja Sahib's seat. He cannot find

a seat here. But that does not mean that we should not be reasonable or even generous.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

P. S.

We meet for final settlement—or for the announcement of the settlement—in the presence of common friends on the 18th May. Please wire approval for A or B.

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471. 17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
17th May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Zafrullah presses for the transfer of the doctor and has no objection to my telling you that he wants it. I am sitting over the file ever since I called it back on the 9th. Since I had verbally ordered IGCH to put up the proposal I do not know how to disapprove of the proposal I had ordered him to put up. He will wonder why I have changed so suddenly.

Will you kindly allow me to adhere to the orders, meanwhile asking the gentleman to take one or 2 months leave, so that before he returned from leave you could again post him to the place. I would have thus not annoyed Zafrullah regarding his wishes and you will also be able to please SD by re-posting him to the same place.

Kindly let me know per return of post your orders in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

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472. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
17th May, 1936.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

I have read Sir Sikander's letter. It is a combination of expla-

tion and submission, a collection of hot and cold, a compound of egotism and humiliation or a mixture of vanity and sincerity. So, you can interpret it unfavourably or favourably according to your mental inclination. But, while favourable interpretation will mean unity, solidarity and strength of the Muslim Punjab, unfavourable interpretation shall mean discord, destruction and chaos. I would request you, therefore, to take the last paragraph as the sum and substance of the whole letter. As trust and confidence are bound to generate trust and confidence, I would ask you to take a generous view and thus put an end to all disputes and dissensions which, if permitted to sway, shall inevitably end in ruin. More when I am free from my case.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

Memorandum of Reconciliation :

Present

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Chaudhri
Sir Shahab-ud-Din, President, Legislative
Council, Punjab.

Khan Bahadur Captain Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan,
Revenue Member designate of the Punjab Government.

Rai Sahib Chhaudhri Chhotu Ram, M. L. C.

Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, M. L. C., and

Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan, M. L. C.

Khan Bahadur Captain Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan assured the Honourable Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din that he entertained and would continue to entertain towards him the same feelings of sincere respect which he had previously entertained and much regretted that owing to some misunderstanding, the reasons for which need not be further investigated, he had not carried out his undertaking to address a letter to the Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain in the sense understood by the five gentlemen now present at a

previous meeting at Simla in July last. He also intimated that he had been informed by the three last named gentlemen that so far as their action in the Council on any future occasion was concerned they would reserve to themselves the liberty of deciding upon their course of conduct as each question arose and that they would on all questions pay such regard to the views and opinions of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din as his ability, seniority and experience entitled him to claim.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din accepted these assurances in the spirit in which they were offered and a full reconciliation was effected between these two gentlemen.

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473. 3 Durand Road,
Lahore.
17th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I have returned this morning.

I don't wish to say as my *Karguzari* and God knows how Sikander was in the feeling of deep distress. I found that no one wishes you and Sikander to work together. The non-Muslims, officials, Sikander's relatives and even Muslims who are selfish and aspire to a seat in the Cabinet favour his return to work under you. Sikander realizes all this and feels that it is more on account of their selfishness than love to him. He had a grievance and I am sure that this letter has made his breast clean and clear.

I now request you as a son requests his father to take it in the best light and send a suitable reply to Sikander whose feelings towards you are that of a younger brother to an elder brother. You can save the situation now and I am confident that you will take the letter in a most generous way. I resume my work tomorrow.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

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474. Rohtak,
19th May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

The settlement is complete and was announced to a dozen of common friends who had arrived in response to our invitation. Jats are extremely democratic and we gave the settlement the appearance of what had been done after consultation with, and a mandate from, them.

The statement in the form of the copy enclosed has been issued to the press. You did not indicate your preference so we agreed upon draft B with slight changes.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

P. S.

I am enclosing an article on "Party Politics" by Mr. Dip Chand Verma. He is a Jat of the Rohtak district. He was educated in a Hindu (Sabha) institution under Hindu Sabha teachers. He says that he is a complete convert now to our views. He has been contributing to the Roy's Weekly, *Hindustan Times*, and other papers, and comes up to the mark of a lay journalist. If he is supplied the literature of the Party he can make useful contributions.

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475. Barnes Court,
Governor of Punjab Simla,
(Personal) 19th May, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

I have heard that Sir Firoz Khan Noon is to take over his new appointment in London on July, the 1st, and will, therefore, relinquish his Ministership about June, the 18th. I am writing to offer you the Ministership which will thus become vacant, and to say that I hope you will be able to accept it. In that case, you will, no doubt, arrange with Sir Firoz direct, regarding the date and place of taking over. He wishes, I think, to hand over from Lahore by telegram, if necessary.

May I add that, for myself, I shall be delighted to have you as a colleague, and am quite sure that your acceptance will be for the good of the province.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Emerson

K. B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

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476. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
20th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Since my return from Bombay I have not been keeping good health. It was fearfully hot on the day I was travelling in the Frontier Mail. I have been regularly attending the office and issued two statements to the press which will appear tomorrow. One of the statements has already appeared in the *Tribune* and the other in *People*. Our progress is quite satisfactory. I may have to go to Mailsi to attend the polling of the Assembly on the 23rd and will return on the 27th. Hope you are flourishing.

With respects,

I was really disturbed to read your letter to Bhaijan. I was sure you will make the elderly gesture. I again appeal to you in the name of God and the Punjab to reconsider your decision. Sikander will not be able to come now. It is really a great pity that this unfortunate situation has arisen. You built the whole building and for God sake don't pull it down. You and Sikander would have surmounted all the difficulties and no one except yourself can save the Province single-handed. Have mercy on us and forgive Sikander. I was afraid of this crisis. I have every hope that by God's grace you will change your decision, otherwise I shall have nothing to do with the politics.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

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477. 17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
22nd May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Z. never wished anything done against your wishes. He suggested filing an "appeal" and if it was rejected he is as keen on the execution of your orders as I am. I have left the file at the Cecil and as soon as I get back on 25th I will get out the papers and wriggle out of the situation as best as I can. I am in bed with a bad cold but hope to be well enough to go back on the 27th.

Thanks for the wire; the baby and her mother are both flourishing.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

———

478. Lahore.
22nd May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

When I wrote to you last I also asked Chaudhri Shahabuddin Sahib to consult Kaiser about Zafar Ali. Kaiser after attending the Working Committee meeting of Ittihad Millat left Lahore in connection with his business and came to see me this morning. The announcement of the Personnel of the Parliamentary Board was out last evening in the *Eastern Times* and Maulvi Zafar Ali has given out that the names of the members of Ittihad Millat have been announced without their previous consent to work on the Board.

Kaiser says that he told Chaudhri Sahib definitely that Zafar Ali must be secured at once and it was better to have him secured before the announcement of the Board. He thinks that the other party will now do their best to secure him and that the Bhopal money might play a part in it. Therefore it is very essential that even now he should

be secured. But Kaiser says that he has very definitely made it clear to Chaudhri Sahib that this monetary business should be done without his intervention and he is not prepared to have anything to do with it as he says in this way he can be of more use to our party.

Mian Sahib had sent word to Zafar Ali to see him and Zafar Ali came to see Mian Sahib yesterday morning at about 10. He repeated his talk with you to Mian Sahib and told him that you had removed most of the objections he had against you and your programme but he had not much faith in some of the members of the Unionist Party and that the Ittihad Millat will try to send men of independent views into the Council. He was, however, very much incensed against the Ahrars.

Early in the morning Akhtar Ali Khan came to see. He had phoned me up the day before that he wanted to see me and I told him that I could see him yesterday early in the morning. His gist of the whole conversation was that he wanted help for his newspaper. He told me that his father had decided to work against the Ahrars and was practically with the Unionists now and he expected our party to help them.

This morning Akhtar Ali again came to see me and told me that he had been sent by his father who requests help for his paper. I told him that I shall try to do something for them and that he should wait for 3 or 4 days.

Kaiser is very emphatic that Zafar Ali must be secured as soon as possible otherwise it may be too late in view of the meeting of the Parliamentary Board on the 8th at Lahore. He is also of opinion that other workers of the Ittihad Millat and those who are against Ahraris should be secured and made to announce publicly their views against the Ahraris and Mr. Jinnah so that later on even if they are tempted by the latter they will find it very difficult to swallow their public utterances. It is very essential that the meeting on the 8th should be failure as far as Punjab members of the Board are concerned. Zafar Ali should be made to keep away from it, which would have been earlier if he had been secured before the announcement of the board and even now the expenditure is worth trying.

Kaiser told me that he is also writing to you today. He suggests Rs. 1000 at once and Rs. 200/- monthly.

I do hope you are keeping better health.

Awaiting for a reply by return of post.

Yours sincerely,
Amiruddin

P. S.
Have you got a telephonic connection and what number?

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479.

Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Bombay.
22nd May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Yours of the 18th just received. Apparently my letter of the 13th has not been taken in the spirit in which it was conceived and written. This is unfortunate; but it seems to me futile to fight against fate — قسمت. My position remains unaltered. As I told you before, I am quite happy where I am. When you, Sir Shahabuddin and other friends pressed me to sacrifice my prospects here for the sake of the province and the community I told you frankly that if my services and assistance were really needed I would not hesitate to ask for my release and personal considerations will not be allowed to influence my decision. I stand by that undertaking. I have repeatedly declared publicly—both in press and platform—and have also tried to assure you personally on several occasions that I never had, nor have, any intention of challenging your leadership, but I fancy that you have either failed to appreciate my sincerity and *bona fides*, or else are looking for some convenient pretext to divest yourself of responsibility and worries which political leadership entails in the present state of Punjab politics. I hope you will forgive me for putting this to you frankly and bluntly; I have tried hard to think of some other excuse or reason for the sudden change in your attitude after the 7th of May but have failed to find one. If

my surmise is correct you are at liberty to utilise my name again if it will help you, and on my part I can assure you that I will, as before, not say a word against it. I would, however, request you to make it clear that I never had nor evinced any ambition or pretentions to assuming the leadership of the party and (in view of what has transpired during the past fortnight) I have no intention of returning to the province.

I asked Nawab Muzaffar Khan, when Firoz's appointment was officially announced, (and in accordance with the suggestion made by you when I saw you in Lahore) to speak to His Excellency and tell him that the Unionists would like you to take Firoz's place and that if His Excellency had no objection he (Muzaffar) would make room for me by going on leave or resigning his post. He (Muzaffar) sent me a reply that His Excellency had told him that it was too early to decide the matter now, since the vacancy will not occur till October. Since then, Firoz's departure, I understand, has been advanced to sometime in the end of June or beginning of July. I therefore propose informing Muzaffar that he should continue to press for your inclusion in the Cabinet but need not worry about me any longer.

I hope Dalhousie is suiting you and I wish you health, long life and success. My friends will continue to work for you loyally.

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

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480. Barnes Court,
Simla,
23rd May, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for your letter of the 21st of May. I greatly appreciate the frankness with which you have written, and I understand your scruples, having regard to your health. When I made the offer, however, I fully realised that you might not be able, at times, to work so strenuously as you have done in the past. So far as the social side is concerned, this does not worry me in the least. Not only would I not expect you to waste your energy over social func-

tions, but I would regard it as a mistake, if you did so. My own attitude is that you should do just as much or as little on the social side as you felt able to do, and no more. Everyone would understand this.

I hope this will remove any doubt you may have; and, since I think it desirable to make an announcement as early as possible, will you kindly send me a telegram which need only contain the single word "Yes", in anticipation of a formal letter of acceptance. I will then have the appointment given to the Press as official information.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Emerson

K. B. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.,
Bakrota Hall, Dalhousie.

481.

3. Durand Road,
Lahore.
23rd May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I and the Chaudhri Sahib had long telephonic talks with Sikander and Bhaijan has intimated to you the result. Sikander must have phoned up to you. I am glad this question is settled.

I feel I must make my position very clear. There may be some circumstantial evidence to the contrary on account of the conduct of some of my friends but I can assure you that I have been most loyal and sincere to you and Sikander. I feel it difficult to serve if the chief of the Party has any mistrust about me.

The news in the Press about my being a candidate for the Ministership is the act of one of my friends who wishes to create the feelings that I am not loyal to the leader while they convey to me that I have been bought over.

I issued a statement long ago and R. S. will send you its copy. The statement was published in the *People*, the *Inqilab* and the *Milap*. I have sent another statement to *Civil & Military Gazette* which

will appear in tomorrow morning edition. It will justify H.E's action of offering the Ministership to our leader.

I hope you will accept my assurance.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

P. S.

The statement discusses the constitutional aspect of the question in a very careful manner and there is no mention of the fact that any action has been taken. It mainly says what is done on such occasions by the Party.

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482. بمبئی ۲۴ مئی ۱۹۳۶ء

مکرمی و معظمی!

سلام مسنون: نیاز - کل چوہدری سر شہاب الدین صاحب کا ٹیلیفون آیا تھا۔ انہوں نے فرمایا کہ "میاں صاحب نے احمد یار کو اور مجھے بذریعہ تار بلا بھیجا تھا اس لیے کل ہم دونوں ڈلہوزی گئے تھے - میاں صاحب فرماتے تھے کہ مجھے غالباً عنقریب فیروز کی جگہ وزارت قبول کرنے کے لیے شملہ سے خط آئے گا - لیکن میں اس کو منظور نہیں کروں گا جب تک مجھے اس کا یقین نہ دلایا جائے کہ سکندر واپس آ کر میرے ساتھ کام کرنے کے لیے تیار ہوگا - اگر سکندر خود ساری ذمہ داری اٹھانا چاہتا ہے تو مجھے اس میں ہرگز اعتراض نہیں ہوگا - البتہ اس صورت میں میں سیاسیات سے ہمیشہ کے لیے الگ ہو جاؤں گا - اور ہندوستان سے باہر چلا جاؤں گا اور اکتوبر ۱۹۳۷ء سے پہلے واپس نہیں آؤں گا - اگر سکندر نے آنا ہو اور میرے ساتھ مل کر کام کرنا ہو تو اس صورت میں میں وزارت قبول کر لوں گا"- پھر چوہدری صاحب نے تمام سابقہ دلائل دوہرائے اور فرمایا کہ "تم کو ضرور واپس آ جانا چاہیے - صوبہ اور مسلمانوں کی اسی میں بہتری ہے - میاں صاحب پہلے بھی فرما چکے ہیں کہ سکندر کے بغیر مجھے اور کوئی نظر نہیں آتا جو میرا ہاتھ بٹا سکے اور اب بھی یہی فرماتے ہیں۔ میاں صاحب اور تم کو اکٹھا ہو کر کام کرنا چاہیے اور متفقہ policy پر جو تمہارے مشورے اور رائے سے مرتب کی جاوے گی - اس پر کاربند ہو کر صوبہ اور ملت کی خدمت کرنا چاہیے - تم نے اگر انکار کیا تو میاں صاحب ہرگز کام کرنے کے لیے تیار نہیں اور اس سے جو مسلمانوں کو اور صوبہ کو نقصان ہوگا اس کی تلافی مشکل ہوگی اور تم ذمہ دار ہو گے - تم کو ہرگز لیت و لعل نہیں کرنا چاہیے" میں نے جواباً عرض کیا کہ جو کچھ آپ فرما رہے ہیں بجا ہے اور میں پہلے بھی

کئی بار عرض کر چکا ہوں کہ موجودہ عہدہ اور آئندہ ترقی کی امید اور مالی اور ذاتی فوائد کو میں اپنے فرائض پر کبھی ترجیح نہیں دوں گا ۔ میں نے پہلے بھی کہا تھا اور اب پھر عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اگر میری خدمات کی ضرورت ہو اور وہ صوبہ اور مسلمانوں کے لیے مفید ہو سکیں تو مجھے واپسی میں اعتراض ہرگز نہیں ہو سکتا ۔ باقی رہا میاں صاحب کے ساتھ مل کر کام کرنے کا سوال سو میں کئی بار اعلانیہ کہہ چکا ہوں اور آپ کو میاں صاحب کو ، اور دیگر احباب کو بھی یقین دلا چکا ہوں کہ ان کے ساتھ مل کر کام کرنا میرے لیے باعث فخر ہوگا ۔ بلکہ مجھے ان کے ماتحت ایک ادنی Back bencher کی حیثیت میں بھی کام کرنے میں کسی قسم کا عار نہیں ہوگا بشرطیکہ میرا آنا مفید ہو سکے ۔ اور وہ اسی صورت میں ہو سکتا ہے کہ آپس میں کامل اعتماد ہو ۔ گزشتہ دس پندرہ روز سے جو ان کے رویہ میں یکلخت تبدیلی ظہور پذیر ہوئی ہے اس سے مجھے بے حد مایوسی ہوئی ہے اور اس سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ ان کا مجھ پر اعتماد نہیں ۔ اندریں حالات میرا آنا لا حاصل ہوگا ۔ اس پر چوہدری صاحب نے مجھے یقین دلایا کہ ”میاں صاحب کو تم پر کلی اعتماد اور بھروسہ ہے اور تم کو اس میں شبہ نہیں کرنا چاہیے ۔ وہ ہر ایک امر میں تم سے مشورہ کر کے کام کریں گے اور جو طریق عمل تم دونوں مل کر تجویز کرو گے اس پر عمل درآمد ہوگا“۔ میں نے کہا کہ اگر یہ صورت ہے تو آپ میاں صاحب کو مکرر میری جانب سے یقین دلا دیں کہ مجھے آنے میں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہوگا اور میں تعمیل ارشاد میں یہاں سے سبکدوش ہونے کے لیے سلسلہ جنبانی شروع کردوں گا ۔ چوہدری صاحب نے یہ بھی فرمایا کہ ”ہندو سکھ صاحبان سے سمجھوتہ کے متعلق جو گفت و شنید کی جاوے وہ میاں صاحب کے مشورے سے کی جاوے“ میں نے عرض کیا کہ ایسا ہی ہوگا لیکن یہ ضروری ہے کہ ان کے ساتھ سمجھوتہ کے لیے ہر ممکن کوشش کی جاوے کیونکہ اس کے بغیر صوبہ میں کوئی تعمیری کام نہیں ہو سکے گا اور کہ میاں صاحب کی بھی یہی رائے تھی ۔ چوہدری صاحب نے فرمایا کہ ”یہ صحیح ہے لیکن سمجھوتہ کے متعلق جو بات چیت ہو یا جو شرائط وغیرہ ہوں وہ باہمی مشورہ سے طے کرکے کیے جاویں“۔ میں نے کہا کہ یہ طریق عمل صحیح ہے اور مجھے اس میں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ۔ اس کے بعد چوہدری صاحب نے دوبارہ فون کیا اور کہا کہ ”پہلے میرے پاس احمد یار موجود نہیں تھا اب وہ بھی میرے پاس کھڑا ہے“ اور دوبارہ انہوں نے تقریباً تمام سابقہ گفتگو کا اعادہ کیا اور ساتھ ہی یہ بھی فرمایا کہ تم خود بھی میاں صاحب کو ڈلہوزی نمبر ۱۳ پر بذریعہ ٹیلیفون براہ راست یقین دلا دو کہ تم کو واپسی میں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہوگا ۔ میں نے کہا اچھا ۔ چنانچہ میں نے جناب کو کل شام ٹیلیفون پر یقین دلانے کی

کوشش کی کہ میری خاطر جناب ہرگز وزارت سے انکار نہ کریں اور اگر میری واپسی آپ ضروری سمجھتے ہیں تو مجھے ہرگز اعتراض نہیں ہوگا۔ جناب نے فرمایا کہ تمہاری واپسی کی ضرورت کے متعلق میری اب بھی وہی رائے ہے جو پہلے میں نے زبانی تم کو لاہور بتلا دی تھی۔ اور ساتھ ہی یہ بھی فرمایا کہ ہندوؤں کا موجودہ رویہ جو فیروز کے جانشین کی تقرری کے متعلق ہے وہ نہایت برا ہے اس لیے تم کو اس کے متعلق پھر واضح کر دینا چاہیے کہ تم میرے ساتھ مل کر کام کرو گے اور ان سے فی الحال سمجھوتہ کے متعلق کوئی بات چیت نہیں کرنی چاہیے۔ میں نے عرض کیا تھا کہ میری خط و کتابت صرف راجہ صاحب کے ساتھ تھی اور وہ بھی محض اس غرض سے کہ ان کو مل کر کام کرنے کے لیے آمادہ کیا جائے۔ اور اگر ان سے شرائط طے کرنے کی نوبت پہنچی تو آپ سے مشورہ کرکے اور آپ کے ایما کے ساتھ بات چیت کی جاوے گی۔ کیوں کہ فون پر گفتگو صاف طور پر سنائی نہیں دیتی تھی۔ آپ نے فرمایا کہ تم اپنی رائے بذریعہ تحریر بھیج دو۔ لہذا بذریعہ عریضہ ہذا مفصل گفتگو جو مابین چوہدری صاحب اور میرے ہوئی اور جہاں تک آپ کی گفتگو سمجھ میں آئی تحریر خدمت ہے۔ ہاں آپ نے یہ بھی فرمایا تھا۔ ”کہ یا خود آ کر سارا کام سنبھال لو میں بالکل الگ ہو جاؤں گا۔ اور یا قطعی فیصلہ کرو کہ میرے ساتھ مل کر کام کرو گے ورنہ میں کام چھوڑ چھاڑ کر سیاسیات سے بالکل الگ ہو جاؤں گا“۔ میں نے اس پر دوبارہ عرض کیا کہ آپ میری خاطر ہرگز قیادت نہ چھوڑیں اور کام جاری رکھیں اور جیسا کہ آپ فرما رہے ہیں کہ میری واپسی ضروری ہے اس لیے میں واپس آ جاؤں گا۔ آپ عہدہ وزارت قبول کر لیں۔ مگر میرا اکتوبر نومبر سے پہلے آنا ممکن نہیں۔ ساتھ ہی یہ بھی عرض کیا تھا کہ جو خط جناب کے خط کے جواب میں میں نے ۲۲ کو لکھا تھا موجودہ حالات اور گفتگو کو مد نظر رکھ کر اسے cancel تصور فرماویں۔

بموجب آپ کے ارشاد کے عریضہ ہذا ارسال خدمت ہے۔ جواب سے بواپسی مطلع فرمایا جاوے تاکہ میں اپنی سبکدوشی کے متعلق سلسلہ جنبانی شروع کر دوں۔ ہاں یہ عرض کرنا بھول گیا کہ چوہدری صاحب کے فون کے بعد میں نے نواب مظفر خان کو اطلاع دیدی ہے کہ وہ لاٹ صاحب کی خدمت میں عرض کر دیں کہ فیروز کی جگہ یونینسٹ پارٹی کے لیڈر کو پہلے وزارت پیش کرنی ضروری ہے اور اگر سکندر اکتوبر یا نومبر میں واپس آیا تو مجھے اس کے لیے جگہ خالی کرنے میں مطلق اعتراض نہیں ہوگا۔ جواب آنے پر اطلاعاً عرض کر دوں گا۔ ہاں اتنا اور عرض کر دوں کہ ہندو اخبارات کا رویہ جس کے متعلق

چوہدری صاحب نے اور آپ نے ذکر فرمایا ہے ۔ بے شک افسوسناک ہے اور آپ کو اس سے ضرور رنج ہوا ہوگا ۔ لیکن صوبہ کی بہتری اور اپنے قومی مفاد کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے حسب معمول فراخ دلی سے کام لیں ۔ جب تک ان سے کوئی تسلی بخش سمجھوتہ نہیں ہوگا کوئی تعمیری کام نہیں ہو سکے گا ۔ اور یہی جناب کی بھی رائے تھی اور ہے ۔ بہر حال سمجھوتہ کن شرائط پر اور کس بنا پر کیا جاوے اس کے متعلق آپ مجھ سے بہتر سوچ سکتے ہیں ۔ میں اس کے متعلق فی الحال کوئی سلسلہ جنبانی نہیں کروں گا اور بعد مشورہ جو کچھ طے پایا ، آپ کی ہدایات کے مطابق عمل درآمد کیا جاوے گا ۔ میرے لکھنے کا مدعا صرف یہ ہے کہ اس ضروری امر کو موجودہ اور لمحی جذبات سے متاثر ہو کر نظر انداز نہ فرمایا جاوے ۔ آیندہ جیسے جناب کی رائے ہو ۔ یہ خط جناب کو انشاء اللہ ٢٦ کو پہنچے گا اور مجھے ٢٨ یا ٢٩ تک جواب غالباً مل جائے گا اس کے بعد اپنی واپسی کے متعلق سلسلہ جنبانی کروں گا ۔ اور جناب کو اطلاع دوں گا ۔ امید ہے آپ بفضلہ مع متعلقین بہمہ وجوہ خیریت سے ہوں گے ۔

خاکسار خلائق
سکندر حیات

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483. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
24th May, 1936.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 22nd May. I am very very glad indeed that Zafr-Ullah and you have been so good as to save me from disappointment. It was not this particular matter to which I attach any importance but it was to principle and it hurt me to feel that my friends should allow personal considerations to prevail even when I ventured to emphasize on them the need of over-riding all those considerations. I am very grateful to Zafrullah and to you for this.

I am sorry you have been in bed. I suppose it must have been due to your hurried visit to Lahore and change of weather and climate and hope now you are quite well.

There is one matter I wish to mention to you. It is about Fateh Muhammad. You know there is a need for two Civil Surgeons in the Punjab. The Government of India cannot supply you two Europeans and some one there is apparently delaying matters *i.e.* supply of Muslims in the hope that non-Muslims already temporarily

in the Punjab or in the Jail Department might be employed. If this is so, it is most regrettable. *Prima facie* there is....

[Incomplete]

(Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain)

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484. 17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore,
25th May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Shahabuddin came to see me yesterday and complained of Zafrulla regarding doctor. I told him that Zafrulla had nothing to do with the transfer and that I had ordered it on my own and then cancelled it under your order. He was putting leading questions and also hinted that he knew about what I had written to you but I was not taken in for I know he is most cunning and treacherous like an old elephant and would have created bad blood between me and Zafrulla.

Did you get my letter *i.e.* note *re* DPH to succeed Rahman? Shall I leave over the case for you? I had better done the thing myself.

I have not yet succeeded in getting an air seat.

Have been in bed with flu since 20th, the day I arrived here. May go back to Simla on 27th.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

Hearty congratulations *re* Azim. Our luck has suddenly wakened up. Thanks to Allah. I hear Sikander is again playing the dirty. Jinnah's visit should be made a dismal failure this time.

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485. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
25th May, 1936.

Dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of the 23rd. Noted with thanks what you say about the Doctor's transfer, I saw Firoz yesterday. He also assured me that he will not be shifted.

It would have been very creditable if Azim had stood first; but for all practical purposes what is needed is that he should become an I. C. S. whether he stands first or last in the list. All's well that ends well. God be thanked.

I phoned up Sikander even yesterday. He assured me that he will write to you as described, and that he had spoken to you on phone. I hope you have accepted the offer already; if not, kindly do so immediately and save the ruin of the Muslims of the Province.

With sincerest regards,

Ever yours,
Shahabuddin

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486. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie.
26th May, 1936.

Dear Sir Herbert,

In view of your very kind letter of the 23rd I gladly accept your kind offer in your letter of the 19th to be your Minister, and hope and trust the confidence and trust reposed by you in me will be justified.

I will arrange with Sir Firoz Khan Noon direct the date and place of taking over charge and communicating telegraphically to you accordingly.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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487. Yarrow Ville,
Simla, S. W.
26th May, 1936.

Dear Guru,

I interviewed the Viceroy yesterday. He started by referring to the Punjab situation, and that he hoped it would improve. I told him that you have started organising the Punjab, and I felt sure that under your leadership, Punjab would be restored to its normal and natural policy. He agreed.

He then discussed rural development and said that he intends going into the country on horseback and meeting the villagers. What else could I do but agree with him? He then switched on to Nehru and asked as to the persons who support the Congress financially. He said that he is investigating this. I told him that neither Ahmedabad nor Bombay would be willing to contribute now to Congress exchequer.

We then discussed his work on the Joint Select Committee. He seemed keenly interested in my forthcoming work on the new constitution. I told him it would be published next July; and contained an analysis of important sections of the Act.

I was, on the whole, impressed with his earnestness, his enormous capacity for work and sincerity.

If I may make a suggestion, it is essential that you and the Viceroy meet in Simla next July or September.

Jinnah is creating something of an excitement here, and the "*Statesman*" seems to have been swept off its feet.

I hope you are in the best of spirits.

Yours sincerely,
Shafaat Ahmad Khan

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488. Yarrow Ville,
Simla, S. W.
27th May, 1936.

Dear Guru,

My heartiest congratulations on your appointment as Minister in

the Punjab Govornment. You have conferred an obligation on the country by sacrificing your ease and comfort, and burdening this responsibility at a time when you needed rest.

(2) There have been very humorous developments in the U. P. in connection with Jinnah Parliamentary Board. Chhatari misled the meeting at Aligarh and sent up names for Jinnah's Board. When the Governor of U. P. came to know if it, he was furious, and according to Sir J. P. Srivastava, the Minister, who met me here yesterday, he said, "There are two very strong men who have had the courage to express their opinion and think clearly. One is Fazli Husain in the Punjab, and the other is Shafaat in U. P." Srivastava told me that this false step on Chhatari's part has shattered his prestige.

This morning I met Chhatari in the Viceregal Lodge. He was profuse in his apologies, and was frightened over the development.

He is calling another meeting at Aligarh on June 7th to reconsider the decision of the previous Aligarh meeting. He was greatly perturbed at these developments. Haig is going to give him a straight talk. At Srivastava's desire, I am writing a letter just now to Haig, explaining the whole position.

Jinnah's Board is fantastic in the extreme, and we can easily laugh it out of existence. This is the first attempt made by Jinnah to "organise" the Muslims of India outside the legislature. I am convinced it will be his last.

Everyone here is pleased with your appointment.

With the kindest and most affectionate regards,

Your devoted follower,
Shafaat

I am going down to Aligarh on June the
7th to give a decent burial to Jinnah's scheme.

489. Luddan, P. O.,
Multan District,
28th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I was delighted to hear today that your appointment has been officially announced. I am wiring Amjad Ali to issue a statement on behalf of the party thanking His Excellency the Governor on his excellent choice in appointing our Leader.

Bhai Sikander has written to me details about the Urdu letter that he wrote to you. I hope that settles the matter entirely and that he will be asked to request the Bank Authorities to relieve him in the beginning of October.

Are you going to stay in Dalhousie or going to Simla? I am trying to reach Lahore as soon as possible.

I am not sure whether it will be desirable or even graceful if a Member of our Party invites those who attend the meeting of the Council of All India Muslim League to Tea on the 9th.

I am sorry I have not been able to send my instalment in this month. I am arranging to send both the instalments in June. Hope you are flourishing.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Daultana

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490. 24, Melaram Road,
Sanatana Dharma College,
Lahore.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Kindly accept my heartiest congratulations on your appointment as Education Minister once again. Your first victory was won when Sir Sikander was found a job in the Reserve Bank. Your second victory came when the Party of Sir Sikander agreed to work in co-operation with you. The appointment of Sir Feroze as High Commissioner was your third victory. If you are able to win over the

Urbanite Hindus, and you succeed in formulating a programme of work which is just and fair to all sections of population, whether they are Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs, or whether they are agriculturists or non-Agriculturists, you will certainly be able to form a very stable ministry, but would also bring peace and happiness to this distracted province. This would be your greatest victory. It is my earnest prayer that you may be able to achieve all this. I believe the interests of the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Sikhs are not always anatagonistic. Real statesmanship consists in chalking out such a programme, on which there is the largest amount of agreement. If the points of agreement are emphasised, and the points of difference are kept in the background, real Hindu-Muslim unity can be possible. But this all can be done by a man who is strong enough, and who is not led away by the extremists in his own community. I believe you can, if you wish, be such a man. Once again please accept my heartiest congratulations.

Yours sincerely,
Gulshan Rai

491.

3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
30th May, 1936.

My dear Sir,

The *Ihsan* has written two bad articles against us. I sent for them now and have given them an ultimatum that if they do not give up this mischief we shall work against them and those subscribers that have been enlisted through me will be asked to get discontinued the paper even if the term of the subscription has not expired. I will not stand in the way of their getting Bahawalpur grant for the services rendered to the State at my request but in future the State will have nothing to do with them. I made it clear to them that if we wanted to repay them in the same coin they could not get this one thousand rupees from Bahawalpur which was with K. B. Sh. Shah Nawaz. I have also written to Sh. Shah Nawaz accordingly.

I hope they will come to their senses otherwise by God's grace they will repent.

I have every hope that you have generously taken Sikander's letter. I am anxious to know your feelings on the subject.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

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492. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
30th May, 1936.

Dear Feroze-ud-Din,

Yours of the 27th. I was not writing about you in particular. I was writing about the Ahrar and I understood you were a member of their party since a long time and I assumed you will continue to be so. Far be it from me to try to persuade any individual member of the Ahrar Party to leave it. It is not worth it. It is not the right thing to do. This, however, does not mean that if anyone by conviction wishes to join a different party that I should stand in the way of his doing so.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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493. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
30th May, 1936.

Dear Ram Rakha Mal,

Thanks awfully for your hearty congratulations, which I much appreciate. It is very kind of you to offer me a party on any date most convenient to me. I assure you that I appreciate the kindly feeling behind it, but you have known me for many many years and you know perfectly well that such public functions have no attraction for me and I don't wish any friend of mine to use them in order to create reputation for me. What I value really is genuine honest conviction. Since your retirement, if the public press is to be believed, your views, your express sentiments, your alleged actions have not given me any indication as to your views on many important

points relating lo inter-relation between the three great communities of the Punjab, are such as long association with me would have led me to believe. I however value genuine honest convictions even more than agreements. If your and my convictions disagree it may be a matter of regret for me but still I have no complaint about it. Let us differ and let us hope that at some future time we may be able to agree. It is much better than false assumption of agreement. As I have always taken you to be a conscientious good man I have thought it necessary to give you my impression about you since your retirement because both of us have been and are in public life.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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494. Barkota Hall,
Dalhousie,
1st June, 1936.

Dear Atta Ullah,

Thanks very much for your kind congratulations, which I highly appreciate.

You refer to Shahidganj affair and make certain suggestions and observations;—

(1) The appellate court's decision—as you observe [the judgment is open to appeal. In legal affairs nothing is right or wrong except the decision of the final authority and that only for the time being and in that particular case. Therefore, it is useless to indulge in expression of opinion on merits of the judgment.

(2) You talk of the repeal of Gurdawara Act, in particular of that provision which has barred this suit. I am afraid not being a lawyer you have not realised what the problem is. But if you have some lawyer friends and they are serious minded enough to study the point, devote some time to it, then they might be able to help you to understand. Your suggestion that if the Unionists bring forward a private Bill

to repeal the Gurdawara Act—this will make them popular. This advice is unsound. What one has to see is whether a particular proposal is right or not, is just or not, and the attainment of popularity is not an end in itself and should be avoided. I regret I cannot accept your advice on this point.

(3) You say that because it has been found that this building was at one time a mosque and the claim is barred under the Law of Limitation, this should be put right. Surely thousands of Muslims everyday plead the Law of Limitation to save themselves from the payment of debts. Living in British India subject to the jurisdiction of British courts, going to British courts for relief, you cannot but be bound by the law enforceable in those courts. If you give the matter a little calm consideration you will find that if there is a Muslim *Mutwali*, who commits breach of trust and violation of the injunction of Islamic Law and *Shariat* for years and years and if the beneficiaries of the Waqf, hundreds and thousands of Muslims, for years and years don't care the slightest bit to see that the Waqf of which they are in thousands beneficiaries, is being violated and they should take some steps to stop it then after scores of years is it open to them to come forward and say 'true Muslim *Mutwalis* were dishonest and thousands of Muslims do not care a hang as to their own rights or the rights of their sons or [their sons' sons yet there should be no law of limitation and no adverse possession. Personally I feel that there is not much fairness or equity in it. Do you really and honestly think that this is not so or is it because it is the popular way of giving expression to your devoutness as a Muslim that you think this is the right thing to say and mention to me?

About the tomb I have not seen the judgment and I should like to have a look at it before giving any expression to it.

As regards Executive action—If Mohammadans had not made utter fools of themselves and committed blunders after blunders in handling this matter and if Pirs and politicians had not for the sake

of popularity and very very temporary and ephemeral applause acted in a manner most prejudicial to the Mnslim interest, this matter would have been closed long ago. On the Executive side it shall be my effort to do all that can justly and reasonably be done and if I in course of time succeed in preventing Muslims from making fools of themselves to the extent they have been doing in the past I hope to be able to do something—take steps to prevent the recurrence of such incidents.

Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari. Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

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495. Bakrota Hall,

Dalhousie,

1st June, 1936.

Dear Shaikh Sahib,

Yours of the 28th. I am much obliged to you for your very kind congratulations, which I highly appreciate.

As to the warning I am very conscious of it. But it is not only this limited object of warning of the Ahrar attack that calls for action, but I want really good men to work for their community and for the Province to improve its lot and to uplift the people. I want men who would devote themselves to this task and not work just for a few weeks or a few months in order to improve their election prospects towards the end of this year. If I could get such men to come and work whole time at Lahore I would be only too happy to utilise myself of their services, but I know what it means. Living in Lahore means expense. Capable men, if they are to be paid, naturally have to be paid high salaries—the organisation cannot afford them—hence the trouble. Now when you so kindly and generously offer your services let us be frank and try to understand what it exactly means. Are these to be purely honorary on partly honorary and partly paid.

(2) When are you prepared to work ?

(3) What sort of work ?... [*Incomplete*]

Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

496.

Ava Lodge,
Simla, W.
2nd June, 1936.

My dear Fazli,

Let me offer you my slightly belated but none the less sincerest congratulations on :

(*a*) Your appointment as Minister, which will "confound your enemies", I hope ;

(*b*) Your excellent advice to Muslims about Shahidganj. I have had several quiet chuckles over the pithy exhortation "to seek Mr. Jinnah's advice and follow it if possible". You could not have put it more neatly !

Hoping you are quite fit again and that I shall see you here before long.

Yours ever,
Henry D. Craik

497.

Bombay
2nd June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Yours of the 28th May. Many thanks.

I heartily reciprocate your view and wish that the happenings between the 8th of May and now should be completely eradicated from mind and forgotten.

I am glad you accepted the Ministership; it will solve several difficulties and has avoided a split in the party which would have been embarrassing at this juncture.

I expect to be in Lahore on the 14th and 15th, as I have been summoned In connection with the Peoples Bank case, and intend

going up to Simla for a couple of days from there. I will avail myself of the opportunity to speak to Grigg about my release.

I am glad Dalbousie is suiting you. I have always held that it is the healthiest hill station in northern India.

When do you actually move over to Simla ? I understand Malik Din Murid Husain has been successful at the polls. It is a pity Raza Shah did not turn up at the meeting arranged for bringing about a settlement. An agreement would have saved him and others lot of expense and worry and bitterness.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sikander Hyat

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498. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
3rd June, 1936.

Dear Raza Shah,

Last winter I tried my best to get into touch with you but without success. On the 31th of March I made another effort and I failed. Later on the date of the King Emperor's Memorial meeting I tried to get into touch with Makhdum Sadar-ud-Din and there again I failed. Later on the 19th of April I tried to get you to Lahore to have a talk about this unfortunate election and again you pleaded business and important work. I don't know whether all these things have been due to accidents or not, but I trust you will calmly and quietly think over the whole situation. Your family holds the foremost position in the district of Multan and also in the Multan Division. As such it is bound to excite jealousy amongst other people. It is your duty to act in a conciliatory, modest and friendly manner; to adopt the principle of live and let live. I have been hearing of the rise of feeling against you, but since I did not get an opportunity of meeting you I could not convey to you any advice. I am spending this month in Dalhousie but next month will pass through Lahore on

to Simla. I do hope you will arrange before long to meet me.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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499. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
3rd June, 1936.

Dear Shahab-ud-din,

Herewith a note on the affair relating to the mosque in the Shahidganj area. It contains a very rough idea of my scheme for registration of Auqaf. This has been in my mind since 1924. I want you to read this note very very carefully and come to an independent finding—whether it is sound or not, whether it is feasible or not. I am sending copies of it to Zafrulla and Sikander for expression of opinion. I am also sending copies of it to Maqbool, Ghulam Bhik, Seth Abdul Ghani of Karnal, Shaikh Abdul Ghani of Sargodha, Mohammad Asghar of Cambellpur and to Din Mohammad, Abdul Haye, Ghulam Mohay-ud-Din and Mohsan Shah. Please give a copy of it to Nazir, Ahmad Yar and Amir-ud-Din. I am also sending copies of it to Salik and Habib.

I suggest that you call Mehr and Salik and Qaiser and suggest to them the advisibility of translating this into simple Urdu. Take it to Zafar Ali; try to keep him interested in it and in fact make him feel and believe that this is his own brain wave and that he should make a present of it to the Muslim public and force the Unionist Party and all other parties to take it up as the solution of this problem for the future and press for legislation on these lines. If they are hopeful about it go ahead. If they feel that this is not likely then I will arrange that Zafar Ali comes here and so do Habib and Qaiser and we all have a talk.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

500.

Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
3rd June, 1936.

Dear Shahab-ud-din,

Your stenographer came here on the 28th. He has been here now 7 days and you said he might stay here for 10 days, so he is here for another 3 days. I want a stenographer then from 7th to 20th. That is a matter of a fortnight. What can be done ? Please let me know at once.

2. On the 20th of June I assume charge as Minister of Education and vacate my place as Chairman of the Unionist Headquarters. Who should take my place ? I have considered the matter and find there is no one excepting you or Chhotu Ram who could fill the place. What do you say ? Please write to me at once.

3. It seems that it would be necessary to establish a sub-office of the Headquarters at Dalhousie forthwith. Maqbool, Jahan Ara and Habibullah will be here before long and you will be coming later and so would Ahmad Yar. I suggest for the consideration of the next meeting of the Headquarters' Committee that a sub-office with one steno typist and a chaprasi be established at Dalhousie from the 8th of July, so that the Secretaries mentioned above may have an office and a stenographer and a chaprasi to help them. They should have some literature, some stationery and some money for contingency. The stenographer will need a typewriter. Is it possible to hire a typewriter for three months at reasonable rates ? If so I advise that this should definitely be done at the next meeting and when Jahan Ara comes all this should start functioning at Dalhousie not later than the 10th of July.

4. Headquarters staff at Lahore—It needs strengthening by the addition of paid staff especially of contributors to the public press and I want rules and regulations to be pushed into the hands of field workers in Tahsils. Someone ought to be in the Headquarters Office fit for statistical work, the nature of which I will indicate in a separate note later.

5. It would be necessary to have a sub-office of the Headquarters at Simla for the monts of July, August and September in charge of a Secretary. So far as I know none of the existing Secretaries is going there. It may be necessary to create one. I will make a recommendation later. In the meantime Khurshaid Ali is there and will try to make such use of him as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

501.

Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
6th June, 1936.

Dear Srivastava,

Yours of the 2nd June. It is awfully nice of you to speak in appreciatory terms about my views as you have done. I am sorry that some of the U. P. Leaders acted indiscreetly in encouraging Jinnah in his mad scheme of All India Parliamentary Board.

The Unionist Party organization in the Punjab has made a fair amount of progress. Our Headquarters are well established. My health has not permitted me in putting in as much as I have had a desire and them the hot weather has made our Secretariat less well nipped as it ought to have been. Now full work has commenced and a fair progress has been made in the countryside. But it is too early to say whether the progress is such as to satisfy me. But there is yet time and if by the end of September we have been able to organize 70 or 75 Tehsils out of 110 it will certainly be a matter of satisfaction. I am asking the Headquarters to send you a few copies of Rules and Regulations and such literature as they think might be of interest. You ask me about the constitutional agitation and that unconstitutional should not be attempted as it is harmful and not useful. But these people want the Shahidganj agitation to continue in some form or other and hence our difficulty. However, these things have to be dealt with as occasion demands.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava.

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502. Bombay
7th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks for yours of the 3rd June received yesterday and your lucid and succinct note enclosed with it. The line of action proposed therein will I am confident meet with the approval of all reasonable people. The proposal is attractive both from religious as well as political point of view and should be welcomed on administrative grounds also. Legislation on the lines contemplated in your note will obviate friction between communities and avoid a repetition of unfortunate controversy and hostility engendered by Shahidganj affair. You have asked my opinion with particular reference to paragraphs 3 and 7. I am in complete concord with your suggestion. I would however suggest omission of 7 (vi) "as a result of action under (v)", etc., from the note when it is sent for publication with a view to invite public opinion and comments. It might cause unnecssary consternation among vested interests and might concievably provoke controversy, actuated by personal motives, on the part of the *Mutwallis* and thus obscure the merits of the proposal and direct criticism into wholly different channels. It would be easier to deal with hostile critism, based on personal and selfish motives, inside the legislature than through the press. We must avoid giving the 'Pirs' and their Khalifas an opportunity of engineering unreasoned hostility among their Murids and exploiting their credulity and ignorance.

The cutting you have sent is amusing but is also mischievous. It would be interesting to know who inspired it. I am sending it to Ahmad Yar and asking him to try to trace it to its source. I hope your health continues to improve.

I will be in Lahore on the 14th and 15th and in Simla from 16th to 20th.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

(Kindly excuse pencil).

503.

Fairfields, Ferozepur Road
Lahore
7th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazal-i-Hussain,

Thanks for your kind letter dated 4th June, 1936 and its enclosure. I have not read the full text of Mr. Sale's judgement. I have only read extracts in the *Tribune*. On the side of Muslims it is asserted that the Shahid Ganj was once a mosque and according to Waqf Law of the Muslims once a mosque is always a mosque. The Sikhs contended that the building was never used as a mosque, that it was a Qazi's court where Sikhs who refused to embrace Islam where put to death. In support of their contention they point to human skeletons and bones found under the ground. I do not know what was the finding of Mr Sale on this issue.

The litigation will take its due course. There will be an appeal in the High Court and a further appeal to the Privy Council. Your note indicated that you wish to (1) prevent a recurrence of the abrogation of the sacred use of a building intended as a mosque and (2) to prevent the misconduct of *Mutwallis* by having a law enbling the State to supervise their conduct.

As far as I am aware of the history of Shahid Ganj, there is no neglect or lapse on the part of the *Mutwalli*, if there was any. It was change of Government which led to the abandonment of the use of building as a mosque. Shahid Ganj could not have been the name given to the building by Muslim rulers.

No law passed by any Government can prevent the consequences of a change of Government. The history of Shahid Ganj is a peculiar one. There is no remedy against the recurrence of circumstances and their results incidental to Shahid Ganj building.

The question of having a law enabling the State to supervise the administration of estates attached to religiuos buildings and the conduct of the custodians of these buildings is quite a separate one and has nothing to do with the recent events which have come into prominence in connection with the Shahid Ganj building. I entertain serious doubts as to the utility of such laws as that of the Gurdawara

Act or of another similar measure passed in Madras. The Sikhs wanted *Panthik* control over their religious institutions. They have got it. But has the *Panth* benefited or has the measure resulted only in putting into 12 pockets what formerly went into one. In the case of Sikhs there were complaints against the private conduct of the *Mahant* of Nankana Sahib. No such complaints have recently been heard against Hindu *Mahants* or Muslim *mutwallis*.

As you say, the law like the one you propose will give rise to sectional disputes. Attempts at organisation often lead to disorganisation. I do not know what the other Hindus may say, but my own view is (and in this I believe advanced Muslims will agree with me with reference to Muslim institutions) that unless power is taken to divert funds to the creation or improvement of institutions which according to modern ideas the society needs, there is little use in having a law which will result only in putting into 12 pockets what formerly went into one.

I hope, your stay in Dalhousie has improved your health. When are you going to Simla to take charge of your new office ?

Yours sincerely
Raja Narendra Nath

504.

شملہ
۸ جون ۱۹۳۶ء

بخدمت جناب میاں صاحب دام اقبالہ

تسلیمات

جب جناب کا بیان اخباروں میں شہید گنج کے متعلق شائع ہوا تو دوران گفتگو گورنر صاحب نے فرمایا باقی تو بیان اچھا ہے لیکن یہ کہنا کہ اگر معاملہ نہ سلجھے تو پھر میرے پاس آنا کچھ لوگوں کی امیدوں کو بڑھا دیتا ہے - اس معاملہ میں مجھ سے پوچھا کہ تمہارے خیال میں کیا حل میاں صاحب نے سوچا ہوگا؟ میں نے کہا کہ مجھے تو معلوم نہیں - وہ میرا قیاس ہے اس بات سے خائف ہیں کہ کہیں آپ لوگوں کو یہ نہ امید دلا دیں کہ کونسل کے اندر قانون کی ترمیم کرائی جائے گی -

شہید گنج کے متعلق جناب کا نوٹ درست ہے - میری رائے میں ایک نیا قانون اوقاف کی رجسٹری کے متعلق ضرور بنایا جاوے - اس کے بغیر رجسٹری وغیرہ مشکل ہے - ایک سادہ سا قانون اولاً بنایا جاوے جس کا مدعا صرف رجسٹری اوقاف ہو - اس کی زیادہ مخالفت بھی نہ ہوگی -

بہتر تو یہ ہے کہ جناب خود ہی پارٹی کے لیڈر رہیں اگر یہ ممکن نہ ہو تو پھر نواب ممدوٹ سب سے زیادہ موزوں ہے - اگر وہ نہ ہوں تو پھر سردار محمد نواز خان جس کے ہونے سے اغلباً اٹک ضلع میں سیاسی طاقت کا مناسب توازن ہو سکے لیکن اغلباً وہ اس وقت ڈریگا کہ شاید میں آگے ہوا تو میری ٹانگ نہ کھینچ دی جاوے - الیکشن میں تیسرے شخص کے متعلق میری رائے ہے کہ اس کے ہونے سے وقعت قائم نہیں رہ سکے گی اور شاید ان کے پیچھے سب کو جمع رہنے میں تامل ہو - جب تک ایک راست گو - مخلص اور دھوکہ [نہ] دینے والا آدمی آپ منتخب نہیں فرمائیں گے وہ پارٹی کو اکٹھا نہیں رکھ سکے گا -

(۱) نواب ممدوٹ

(۲) سردار محمد نواز خان

آپ کا مخلص

فیروز

۸ جون ۱۹۳۶ء

504.

Governor of Punjab

Barnes Court,
Simla E,
10th June 1936.

Confidential.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th of June and its enclosure.

As regards your specific proposals, I would like to have time before expressing a definite opinion. There are many advantages in the course you suggest, but there are also some disadvantages. This is inevitable from the nature of the problem. The big danger is that one community may be encouraged to bring forward claims in regard to buildings which have long been in the ownership and possession of another community, and that, in consequence, the survey you contemplate may give birth to a new crop of communal disputes. We

have been threatened with several cases of this kind during the past year *e. g.* the alleged site of a mosque in a Hindu High School. The matter requires very careful thought and I prefer not to give a definite opinion until I have had a discussion with you.

2. I notice that so far your note has been circulated to a few friends only and that in confidence. I hope it will not be published, at any rate not until we have been able to discuss it, and in particular the suggestion that the Sikhs had no *legal* right to demolish the building until they had obtained a civil decree establishing that right, and that consequently the Punjab Government should have prevented them from demolition. I know of no legal authority for this suggestion, and I do not remember that it has been previously made. It was certainly not raised by Muslims at the time; nor was it raised in the civil suit that has just been decided by Sale. If made now, we shall, of course, have to rebut it, and its publication would definitely do harm. It does not appear essential to your main line of argument which, if I may say so, is a courageous one and not likely to be palatable to Muslims.

3. As regards building on the site, you may assume that none will be allowed so long at least as litigation is going on. For your own information I may let you know that under the orders of Government the District Magistrate has ready an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, for immediate service if an attempt is made to build. Legislation permanently to prevent this is, of course, a far wider issue which it is at present unnecessary to consider. We have also of course been continuously trying to get the Sikhs to make a voluntary declaration, but I am not hopeful.

4. The point you raised in your letter of the 6th of June about Kot Fateh Khan had already received attention, and I hope it will be all right.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Herbert Emerson

Khan Bahadur
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
"Bakrota Hall," DALHOUSIE.

506. **Private & Personal**

Home Member of the Council. Simla,

Dear Fazli, 11th June, 1936.

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th June.

I have read the note enclosed with it with great interest, and think it should certainly be most useful in keeping the feeling about Shahidganj on constitutional lines. I do, however, see difficulties about legislation on the lines you suggest, if it is to have retrospective effect, and if it is to apply (as obviously it must) to all communities. For example, I believe that there is a well-known Mosque at Benares which is known to have been built on the site of a demolished Hindu Temple, and I have heard that there is a similar case at Muttra. However, there will be lots of time to consider this point.

Hoping to see you here early in July.

Yours sincerely,
Henry D. Craih

Khan Bahadur
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
"Bakrota Hall",
Dalhousie.

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507. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore,
11th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 9th instant together with Nuruddin's poster and your reply to Chaudhri Nazir Ahmad. I do not know Nuruddin. But I am writing to my friends and am asking them to make Nuruddin withdraw his remarks which are liable to legal action and I hope to get the reply very soon. As soon as I do it I will let you know.

The question of organizing the Tehsil centres is a most difficult and delicate one. All the Tehsils are hopelessly devided into various parties frictions and it is very difficult to have both the parties in our

organization. Under the circumstances I am fixing up meetings in Muzaffargarh, Multan, Montgomery and Jhang on their next Dist. Board Meetings and will settle the matter on the spot. I consider it will be fatal to organize centres from the headquarters. The Secretaries must pay a visit to the District Headquarters. The members of rival parties are not so bad when they are talking to each other as they are in their letters to a third party. Hope you are quite well.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana

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508. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,

Confidential. 13th June, 1936.

Dear Sir Herbert,

As soon as judgments of Mr. Sale was out, I sent a telegram to Zafar Ali Khan. I felt it was necessary to do so and he published it in his papers, and I believe, on the whole it produced the effect it was intended to produce. Then I issued a statement to the Press also the same day and could not consult anyone before publishing it; because it was most essential that it go to the public without delay. It was in three parts and the first two parts are very simple, straight and frank, and on the whole, I believe have been well received. The third part was very wholesome and, therefore, naturally unapalatable to the enthusiasts who really have been finding it difficult to reconcile themselves to the situation as it has developed. In Part 3, paras 2 and 3 are, no doubt, platitudes, but I believe, necessary and wholesome platitudes. It is paras 1 and 4 of part 3, which have been in some quarters distorted and made to appear as something which they obviously are not. In para 1 of part 3 I say that when we have reached the end of stage 2 and not succeeded, I will clearly and frankly tell you what I personally would do and what I would advise you to do. What had I in my mind when I wrote this. simply this that I would tell them that these methods have now been exhausted, we should now concentrate on improving the law relating to endow-

ments and administration of endowments by the trustees, and the defect in the existing law is that the initiative is in the hands of the beneficiaries and they are not organised in funds to take the initiative and in most cases they are not public spirited enough to do it. That such initiative as is in the hands of Government authorities is not taken inasmuch as the general formula is that Government should not interfere in religious affairs of different communities; that we should move to improve the law in these respects.

In Para 4, I simply repeat para 1, because after having given them unpalatable, though sound, advice in paras 2 and 3, it was necessary to wind up with what I was prepared to do in the matter. This matter has been made clear by Unionist papers like *Inqilab* and also by *Siyasat*, quite emphatically.

Then the third thing I did was to hurriedly produce the draft, a copy of which I sent to you and copies of which I sent privately and confidentially to a number of friends, and it was intended that it was not to go to the public press till after the receipt of opinions of the gentlemen consulted. When these have been received and the draft changed as far as possible, in the light of the criticism received it might go to the Press. I have received criticisms from a number of gentlemen, and as was to be expected, they are interesting as well as instructive.

Yours of the 10th June points out a possible danger of inter-communal claims as to ownership and possession of certain buildings. That aspect of it was not present in my mind, for what I had in view was the relationship between the trustee and the trust and the beneficiaries of the trust. I recognise that the sort of dispute you have in mind should certainly not be encouraged, but if, on the other hand, such disputes, as a matter of fact, exist, it would be wise to have a thoroughly reliable machinery for their quick disposal, rather than let these disputes simmer, grow and create ill-feeling in that area.

You have expressed the hope that the note be not published till after we have been able to discuss it. Certainly this will not be done, because you approval is condition precedent of its further progress.

As to the point about the right to demolition of the mosque building, flowing from the rejection of the Muslim claim for posses-

sion as adjudged by the Gurdawara Tribunal. That is a point of law, and, therefore, may well be open to more opinions than one being held about it. I have had it in my mind from the very beginning, and I am not sure, but I have an idea that in my letters from Abbotabad to Feroz Khan Noon, or Muzaffar Khan or Shahabuddin, this was mentioned. When writing it, the difficulty, you mentioned, occurred to me, and, therefore, at once added the balancing consideration that the Sikhs may urge that the Muslims had not the right to make the Sikhs keep the building intact unless they obtained a declaration to that effect from a Court of Law; and added that this legal consideration would appear to balance each other. On the whole, I believe the statement has had a sobering effect on Muslim enthusiasts and has made them think. Zafar Ali Khan came to me after reading it and asked me that people thought I had something up my sleeve and if so, they would all suspend their activities for such period as I wanted, so that, I may exert myself and secure the objective. I told him frankly that if by the objective he meant restoration of the site to Muslims, to my mind that was impossible, unless the present administration disappeared and there was a revolution and some new Muslim Government was established, which at present appeared to me impossible, and that in case there was a revolution and Japanese Government were established, they were not likely to restore the mosque to Muslims. The same, I told him, applied to the claim that the site may remain with the Sikhs but the Muslims should have be right of praying there on. I told him that so far as I could see my utmost ambition is that by persuasion or otherwise it may be possible to persuade or prevent the Sikhs not to construct any building on the site or otherwise desecrate the place from the Muslim point of view and thus cause annoyance; that for the present I see no way of achieving even this limited objective, but to secure even that objective what was necessary was desisting from carrying on agitation—constitutional or otherwise, and what was needed was tactfully approaching to bring about such conditions which would favour the securing of this objective. You may rest assured that I am not likely to undertake to promise anything to anyone, until after I have had full discussion of the matter with you.

Thanks awfully about Kot Fateh Khan.

Yours very sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Lahore,
509. 15th June, 1936.

Minister for Education,
Punjab Government.

My dear Mian Sahib,

(1) Public Services Commission.

Major Kanwar Jagjit Singh of Jullundhur will make an excellent non-Muslim Member. Please help him. He is an old friend. He was disappointed last year when Jogi's son-in-law got in as Sub Registrar. He has very good record of service to Govt. and is an old friend.

(2) Saw Sikander this morning, was very cordial.

From his conversation, which was pessimistic, I guess, it is only a guess, he may not come back. He said he might go to Simla tonight or Dalhousie.

Muzaffar arrived here yesterday morning, held meeting with Sikander, Qureshi, Mehr Shah, Ashiq Husain and then went back to Simla same day. Sikander may have given him this good news that he (Sikander) was not returning.

Muzaffar's great friend Ahmad Bux and his brother and one or 2 other relations were also present probably all pressed Sikander not to return.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

I am trying to get this crude news
through M. D. Malik.

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510. 15th June, 1936.

D L T NK 16 LONDON 15 I R C 44

D L T SIR FAZLI HUSEIN EMPRESS ROAD LAHORE =

HEARTILY AGREE YOUR PROPOSAL ABOUT FURTHER SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SECOND PART YEAR KINDLY WIRE AMOUNT NEEDED WHERE TO BE SENT AND WHAT CONDITIONS SO THAT FULL VALUE RECEIVED BEFORE ELECTIONS HELPING TO COUNTERACT TROUBLES YOU REFER TO—AGAKHAN=

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511. Yarrow Ville,
Simla, S. W.
15th June, 1936.

Dear Guru,

Haig has asked me to come to Nainital in connection with a meeting at Government House, Nainital, on 27th. I shall leave Simla on 25th and will probably return to Simla on July 1st or 2nd. At Nainital, Jinnah's new move will naturally be focus of discussions.

Had Jinnah stood by himself, the position would have been comparatively simple, as Jinnah has never done a solid day's political work in his life, and "organisation" is foreign to him. The psychological effect of:—

(A) a coalition of disappointed and, in some cases, discredited leaders of the Ahrar, Congress and Khilafat variety with Jinnah is likely to strengthen the former, and discredit the latter. But this will take some time, and it cannot be denied that during the hectic interval between now and February, the Congressites will exploit Jinnah.

(B) The possibility of other groups coalescing with the League is implicit in the clever formula which seems to have been incorporated in the League manifesto only after lurid flashes of indignation by semi-demi Nationalists of the Chhatari variety. The manifesto renders it possible for other groups with programmes which approximate to the League programme to coalesce with the League. Jinnah had declared it impossible on April 26. At Lahore, he has swallowed the bait, and, from the point of view of internal discipline in his

invertebrate and League ill-assorted party, has reduced it to dust. The party will present a sham façade of unity to outsiders, but will be torn in every rein [?] by the incongruous elements.

(C) Let us now come to the constitutional part of the manifesto. Jinnah, with a crudity which would do credit to the president of school debating society, has seized on the natural dislike of Muslim India to Federation, and calls upon Muslims to accept provincial autonomy and reject Federation. This is an example of his pyrotechnics and inordinate desire for "stunts". Hollywood atmosphere and methods, graceful poses and elaborate gestures are all right for boys of 18, but Jinnah's sole contribution in the present controversy is an attack on "reactionaries" and his old chief, patron and protector, Aga Khan. The absurdity of the League programme will be clear to the meanest intelligence. It is impossible to divide provincial autonomy from Federation by watertight compartments, and on April 1, 1937, the whole of the Act, except Part II, will be brought into operation.

(D) If the Parliament refuses to listen to Jinnah, is the League going to organise non-cooperation with the "Federal" Government in 1939? Federation is undoubtedly distasteful to Muslims, but non-cooperation will be still more distasteful and positively pernicious. We have a choice of two evils, and the League asks us to accept the greater evil.

(E) I have dealt so far with the programme of the League. Let us now discuss the personnel. This is practically the old Congress party which has been discredited in the past, and has now decided to exploit Jinnah's name to serve its own ends. It will have little influence in most provinces. So far as the U. P. is concerned, the position is undoubtedly complicated :

(*a*) The two Nawabs have most foolishly and needlessly given their consent to, membership of the League. They must

either sever their connections with the National Agriculture Party or with the League,

(*b*) The Agriculture Party, it must be confessed, cannot command the allegiance of the Muslim electorate.

(*c*) The reply to Jinnah's Muslim League manifesto must be furnished by a purely Muslim party in U. P., which should be able to show its overwhelming superiority to Jinnahism by championing Muslim interests.

(*d*) Two solutions are suggested of this difficulty:

(*i*) either Muslim candidates should stand as Independent Muslim candidates, with a distinct Muslim programme. In such a case, an Independent Muslim party must be organised in the U. P. to fight the U. P. Muslim League.

(ii) or, a revived and rejuvenated Muslim Conference—not the present effete body—could select these candidates as its official candidates.

In either case whether Muslims stand either as (i) or as (ii) they must maintain informal contact with the National Agriculture Party and, after election, they will merge in it. In case of (i), an Independent Muslim Party must be organised in the U. P.; in case of (ii) the Muslim Conference must be revived and reorganised.

I have thought it best to put all the difficulties of the U. P. as well as of the electorate before you and the complications produced by the League.

You promised to send me a note on the Muslim League within a week. I should be grateful if you could take into account the difficulties experienced by us, and let me have a copy of it, if possible before I leave Simla on 25th instant.

Your worshipper,
Shafaat

512. 16th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Herbert,

.. .. [*Incomplete*]

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon tells me that he wants to hand over charge to me from Lahore on the morning of the 17th. With your permission I should like to receive it here at Dalhousie and if you have no objection, I would like to stay on here till the end of June and then come to Simla, either directly or after a little touring, to acquaint myself with the working of my Departments in some of the Districts on the way to Simla. It will enable me to get into touch with various currents of thought in different places.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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513. 16th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Sikandar has gone to Simla.

At my request M. D. Malik had long interview with Mehr Shah today. Sikander has definitely decided to come back to the Punjab.

Mehr Shah will definitely work for you. Please make use of him as much as you like. Make use of him at the headquarters.

I knew in Simla that Sikander will be allowed to resign only on the condition that he co-operates with you. Sikander's mother has died. Please write to him.

Thanks for your letter. Nur Ilahi is approaching Khadijah Begum *re* Begum Shah Nawaz and I am getting another friend to intercede too. I shall see Jahanara before I go.

Shujaud Din's letter to you, you sent it to Unionist Office, Afzal alleged to have shown it to Shahabuddin. Shuja had said things against Sikander.

People have become afraid of writing to you.

Your letter to Habib asking his opinion *re* Aziz and M.D. M.D.

feels you should have known by now that M. D. Malik was your friend and the other not. I told him this was your way of creating opinion in favour of M. D.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

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514. Lahore.
Private 18th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks.

If Muzaffar and Fazal Ilahi do not play the dirty the opposition should not be.

(1) Tasaduq Hussain, Zaildar of Sargodha Tehsil, has given out in papers that he wants to stand. He got a Jagir for 250/- from Muzaffar last January.

(2) Mian Mohd Bakhsh, one of my old rivals, has also given out, he is also a friend of Fazal Ilahi. Mohd Bux was here yesterday evidently consulting Fazal Ilahi.

It is difficult to guarantee that there will be no opposition but if there is an election we shall win. Allah Bukhsh, Muzaffar and Fazal Ilahi should be brought into this show. People may just want to put you under obligation and no more.

Nos. (1) and (2) should be definitely approached and asked to withdraw. Father and Allah Bakhsh should settle this before dispersing to the Hills.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

Mian Sultan Ali of Bucha Kalan in Bhalwal Tehsil is a useful man. If he sees you, please tell him that I left a note regarding him. He is the same tribe as No. 2 and some relation too, but is our friend definitely.

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515. Governor of Punjab. Barnes Court,
Confidential Simla E,
18th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for your two letters of the 13th and 16th June.

I have always realised from the beginning that your attitude towards the Shahidganj affair has been sound and reasonable, that it has had a moderating effect and that, in view of Muslim feeling no the subject, it has shown great courage. As I said in my previous letter, I also see definite advantages in the course you suggest, but in working it out it will be necessary to avoid pitfalls so far as this is possible. We can discuss all this when you come to Simla.

I notice that you propose to stay at Dalhousie till about the end of the month and then perhaps visit a few places on your way up to Simla. This will be quite suitable unless something unexpected occurs, which makes it desirable for you to be in Simla earlier: in that case I will let you know.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Emerson

The Hon'ble
Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, KCSI., KCIE.,
Minister for Education, Punjab Government,
"Bakrota Hall", DALHOUSIE.

The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
516. 19th June. 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have to acknowledge, with sincere thanks, the receipt of your letter dated the 16th instant.

I believe, I, once, informed you that the Ahrars had no list of candidates as such. Their four or five names are quite obvious. They will try to approach candidates who have not been accepted by any other party, and then, fight all possible seats.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan himself told me that the League had no definite candidates. His plan is also similar to that of the Ahrars.

He gave me an instance of a friend of his who has, for his sake, agreed to stand on the League Ticket. This friend distinctly told the Raja that, he was accepting the League Ticket for the Raja's sake, as otherwise, no party could help or injure him.

In the circumstances, you will agree that I am not in a position to send the list that you require. As regards the Lahore Branch I consulted Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Khan as he thinks this to be his sphere. I offered him help which he declined. I believe Malik Mohammad Din is the best person to start a branch in Lahore. Provided of course that he cooperates with Sir Shahab-ud-Din. Though they meet often I believe there is no love lost between the two.

As to Dr. Alam's constituency, I believe that the Doctor will stand on Ittihad-i-Millat Ticket. The Ittihad-i-Millat are forming a Board of Election today or tomorrow. I have decided to contest this seat on your ticket if possible, without it, if necessary. I have been to Rawalpindi.

Whatever I tell you I tell you, on the supposition that the information is not to be used to the detriment of my interest.

With renewed good wishes for your health.

Yours sincerely,
Syed Habib

Khan Bahadur
Dr. Mian Sir Fazli Hosen Sahib,
Lahore.

———

517. 11, Davis Road,
Lahore.
19th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Your letter of the 14th June which was redirected to me here reached this morning for which please accept my thanks. I am in full agreement with your suggestion that a statement should be issued from the important Pirs of the Province in support of the Unionist party.

Ahmad Yar showed me your note yesterday and I gave him a list of the Pirs who have influence in various districts. I am enclosing a copy of that list for your perusal. In my opinion the following Pirs should be approached to issue the statement :—

1. Diwan Sahib of Pak Pattan
2. Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Mahar Sharif (Bahawalpur State).
3. ....do...............Taunsa Sharif (Dist. Dera Ghazi Khan).
4. ....do...............Sial Sharif, Distt. Shahpur.
5. Khawaja Ghulam Nizam-ud-Din Sahib of Taunsa Sharif.
6. Pir Sahib of Golra Sharif, District Rawalpindi.
7. Pir Fazal Shah Sahib of Jalalpur, Dist. Jhelum.
8. Pir Lal Badshah Sahib of Mukhad (Dist. Attock).
9. Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Sultan Bahu (Dist. Jhang).
10. Pir Sahib of Pir Kot (Dist. Jhang).
11. Khan Bahadur Mukhdum Murid Hussain Qureshi of Multan.
12. Khan Bahadur Makhdum Saddar-ud-Din Shah Sahib Gilani of Multan.
13. Pir Mohammad Husain Shah Sahib of Sher Garh.
14. Pir Jamaat Ali Shah Sahib of Alipur Sharif (Dist. Sialkot).
15. Pir Sahib of Maira Sharif, District Rawalpindi.

It would be a good thing if we could also have the signatures of the Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Ajmer, Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Piran Kaliar, District Saharanpur (U.P.) and Khawaja Hassan Nizami Sahib of Delhi.

I would also suggest that other Pirs and Sajjada Nashins who have local influence in districts and the constituencies should be approached for support.

We may send to these Pir Sahiban some literature of the party embodying the achievements of the party in the past and its programme for the future. Pamphlet No. 4—by Rai Bahadur Ch. Chhotu

Ram issued by the Punjab National Unionist Party and my rejoinder to the '*Mujahid*', the party manifesto and programme, will, I think, be suitable for the purpose.

On receiving your final orders, I shall prepare a draft statement, which may be issued from the Pirs and send it to you for approval. We may then approach them for securing their signatures and support.

I am leaving to-night with Sir Firoz for Karachi and shall reach Thatta Gurmani on the 25th.

Yours sincerely,
Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie.

———

518.

Bagh Begi,
Multan.
20th June, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your letters of the 2nd June 1936 and for the advice contained therein. I have been away to Simla. As I was not quite sure about my stay there, my letters had to wait here till my return and hence the delay in replying. The information which has been given to you by some mischievous person to the effect that I and my party wish to replace the non-official chairman by an official chairman is incorrect. There is however a very strong feeling amongst a majority of the members of District Board against Syed Mohammad Raza Shah and some of them approached me with a request that our party may put up another non-official member in place of Mohammad Raza Shah for the Chairmanship. We had not finally decided on our line of action when I got your letter on my return from Simla and I suggested to the members of the party to postpone this question till the next meeting of the District Board.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Ashiq Husain

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazli Hussain,
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.,
Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie.

519.

3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
22nd June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I am better now. Yesterday we spent about 2 hours with Mian Abdul Aziz and Begum Shah Nawaz and most of their misunderstandings were removed by Begum Shah Nawaz and it is hoped that Mian Abdul Aziz will soon decide to come to us.

Sir Sikander made it clear to Raja Narendra Nath yesterday about the position and I think he took the whole thing in a very good spirit. We were absolutely surprised to find a statement in the Daily *People*. I was unable to attend the meeting of the Secretaries today as I had to get a contradiction sent out. It was also shown to the Raja Sahib because his name was also involved in the statement.

We have taken Mr. Tabassum today temporarily for our article writing and I hope he will do very well. We have given him two articles today and I will be able to report on his work in a day or two.

Mr. Waqar Batalvi[1], an old journalist, came to me. You know him very well. He is an experienced writer. He has given two articles in Urdu to Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din and after I go through them I will let you have my report on it. He wants to serve us.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

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1. Probably, "Waqar Ambalvi". (*Ed.*)

520. Dalhousie,
22nd June, 1936.

Dear Agha Khan,

Your telegram of the 15th of June which I answered thus:—

INFORMED JINNAH CONCENTRATING PUNJAB WITH BOMBAY MAHMUDABAD MONEY INFLUENCING PRESS LEADERS PUNJAB RESISTING SUCCESSFULLY FUNDS ORGANISATION BUT OUTSIDE ATTACK NECESSITATES ADDITIONAL HELP MINIMUM TWENTY ADDITIONAL SIX MONTHS FULL VALUE ASSURED—(18-6-36).

The situation is something like this. Since last April the Unionist Party has been reorganized and a Unionist political organization of a non-communal type has been set going throughout the Punjab. We have been able to collect subscriptions for our need and the headquarters organization is functioning very well. Amjad Ali is our resident Secretary and we have got a good set in the Secretariat. The success has been so startling that sister communities have been taken by surprise and all their plans of upsetting the advantages to be secured by the Muslim community from the communal award have been more or less disturbed. So, a great deal of opposition, as was to be expected, has resulted. Jinnah has blundered into the arena very much to our prejudice. He has not been able to obtain any support from any section of the Unionists. Even the Ithad-i-Milat *i.e.* the extremist section of the Muslims has refused to cooperate with him and have withdrawn from his central board on which he had put their representative. So he is left with Ahrars and a few disgruntled unsuccessful moderate leaders of the Montagu Reform period. The combination is very ill assorted one and is not likely to work very much, but Jinnah's interference and all sorts of silly promises as to large funds being available from Bombay millionaires and from the Maharaja of Mahmudabad has made our task rather difficult, because the press in general and the vernacular press in particular is in a pecuniarius [*sic.*] condition and always anxious to get some help in view of the elections coming on and this parliamentary board of Jinnah coming into being and all sorts of adventurers and others

coming into field, their desire to make money out of as many people as they can has become very acute. This is what has made it very necessary to seek your help in these extraordinary circumstances. You know perfectly well that the Punjab is the key of the Indian Muslim politics because of the strong attitude we have taken. Sindh is following in our footsteps, Northwest Frontier Province is doing the same and to a minor extent Bengal and U. P. are also coming into line. Thus Jinnah's parliamentary board is already broken up. Behar Minister has already resigned. In Madras Muslims have become vocal and challenge the representative character of the 2 or 3 Congress Muslims Jinnah had put on his board. In Bombay itself, I understand, he has support only from Kasim Mittha and I am sure that support will not last very long. Hence the importance of strengthening the Punjab with a view to give lead to Muslim India.

The way it is proposed to utilize funds is to give monthly subsidies to vernacular papers, which definitely are or become party papers. In the subsidy being monthly full value is thus necessarily assured. The second way in which money is to be utilized is to have a few very good well informed journalists—English and vernacular—writing for the press and the organization will see that their contibutions are accepted. Thirdly, publication of pamphlets and leaflets and lastly, communications in the nature of summaries of local news to be sent to England.

I trust you will agree with me that these are the right lines on which to proceed during the next few months between now and the elections. I shall be grateful for any suggestions you may have to make to promote the cause which you and I have both at heart.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

He had telegram to F. H. "Heartily agree your proposal about further subscriptions for second part year kindly wire amount needed where to be sent and what conditions so that full value received before elections helping to counteract troubles you refer to—Agakhan"

and again on 24th June 1936 "am prepared send ten thousand immediately and ten thousand in August may I send direct to you cable reply Agakhan Ritzhotel Paris." F. H. agreed and Rs. 10000/- was sent at once. On 6th July 1936 he wrote "My agents have sent you the first part of my grant, due to my horse Mahmud winning the Derby: otherwise I should not have been able financially to so help you. The second part I will send at the end of August or early September from my Bombay office."

Now, several friends such as Fazal Rahimtulla, Mohd Yaqub and last, but by no means least, the Nawab of Chhitari, have been writing to me and I have urged them to see you and to follow your guidance and organise themselves on similar lines. May I beg of you to give a direct lead to the Moslems of India at this critical juncture in their history. The next elections will be life and death and the wise policy you have followed in the Punjab if generally applied will give our people not only what they want, but possibility of co-operation with other sister communities, without which we are lost. At this time, when it is quite impossible for me, living and working here at this moment, I beg of you not to hide your light under a bushel."

521.

Dalhousie.
24th June, 1936.

London 22-6-1936
19.50 hours
Sir Fazli Husain. Dalhousie, India.

Am prepared send ten thousand immediately and ten thousand in August. May I send direct to you. Cable reply.

Aga Khan Ritzotel Paris

Thanks. Yes.
(Sd) Fazli Husain
Lahore

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522. Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
22nd June, 1936.

Dear Ashiq Husain.

Yours of the 20th instant. When Sikander was here we had a talk about the Multan affair. I am giving you the following advice in your and in your party's interest:—

You have achieved success in your appointment as Sub Registrar. Your second great success has been election as President of the Municipality of Multan. This, however, is tainted with recourse to undesirable tactics which were of an undesirable nature. However, that is done, but should not be repeated. The third success has been this election to the Legislative Assembly. Now you should digest these successes and not try to add to them. If you do, you will get indigestion. There will be a sort of reaction of feelings against you and my very carefully considered advice is that you should desist from in anyway making Raza Shah's position as President of the District Board difficult, but accord him your full cooperation, so that your friends may be in a position to ask Raza Shah's friends to accord you their full cooperation in the municipality. This warfare of extinction cannot be permitted and shall certainly not be encouraged. Therefore your decision to postpone the consideration of the desire of your friends to move that Raza Shah be replaced by another non-official is not enough. This idea should be definitely dropped.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

523.
Secret 23rd June, 1936.

(1) Sir Sikander had a long successful talk with Raja Sahib and it is felt that there will be four Parties in Hindus : 1. Rural, 2. Congress, 3. Hindu Mahasabha and 4. Raja Sahib. Nos. 1 and 2 will be probably 20 in number and there is every hope I am certain that Raja Sahib will bring between 10 and 12 Members to you. He

told Sikander to convey to you : "In spite of our political differences I admire Sir Fazl-i-Husain and consider him very capable administrator. Please inform him that I am very sorry to hear about his illness and wish him speedy and complete recovery."

Sikander asked me to write this to you.

Yesterday Raja Sahib went to Nawab Muzafar's place at 5.45 with Daily *People* and the statement that I sent in the Press was dictated there. Raja Sahib was in a Hindu Sabha meeting when he left it saying that he was to meet Sikander. A reporter having heard this came to his house and sat on the servants' bench. When we left Raja Sahib Anandkumar met us at Porch and asked کیوں کیا خبر ہے and Sikander replied

"سب درست ہے - میاں صاحب کے متعلق تسلی فرمائیں کم سے کم 12 آدمی
راجہ صاحب کے ساتھ ہونے چاہیں اور ہماری پارٹی 120 کی ہے اور ہو جائے گی -

I think I have reproduced word by word. The reporter heard this and then made his own guesses. Raja Sahib went to Dr. Gopichand and found out the source. The reporter was sent to us and told us that my words to Anandkumar

بھائی خوب مضبوط پارٹی ہو جائے گی بشرطیکہ آپ ہمت کریں

misled him.

(2) We met the Arains and hope that Abdul Aziz will soon resign Jinnah board and there is no fear of the Arains.

(3) Sir Sikander was greatly upset to read some of the rumours of *Ihsan* and in spite of my protest and advice to the contrary sent for the editor and the proprietor. I was surprised to find that Sikander was furious and talked at the top of his voice and gave them stern warning. They said that Unionists should say that they have 2 duties one in Provincial Assembly and the other in Federal Assembly. As for your duties in the Province are concerned you remain Unionists but for federal purposes you will be Leaguers and Mr. Jinnah should say [*sic.*].

We hope to have majority but failing that League Party will join the group which has the Muslim majority in it.

Sikander promised to talk to his leader and Mr. Jinnah. In short the result was that they would see that they do not in future take an attitude which makes it difficult for them to become Party Paper.

They were told that nothing was possible if they said bad things about our leader. They said that as *Inqilab* said very nasty things about Jinnah they had to reply, but in future they will not reply to *Inqilab* provided Mehr and Salik made it difficult for them to keep quiet.

(4) Sir Iqbal wanted to meet Sikander but he could not manage it. I will meet him today.

Ahmad Yar

Your Party's strength as discussed with Sikander and Raja Sahib.

Muslims minimum	80	if Ahrars and Leaguers are separated	85
Hindus rural minimum	8	or probably	10
Hindus rural Raja Party	10	or —do—	12
Hindus rural untouchables	4	or —do—	5
Sikhs	8	if Raja Sahib's coalition is before elections	15
Others	4	or probably	5
	114		132

132
\+ 114
2/ 246
123 Say 123 or minimum 120

524. The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
23rd June, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

My last letter to you still remains unanswered. May I take it that all hope of cooperation in the elections between your party and me is lost for good?

Three days ago Dr. Bishen Singh (a Government Pensioner and) a private Practioner of Baghbanpura came to me to enlist my help for his wife (Mrs. Dr. Tulsi, Dentist, Lahore) in the coming elections. His wife is a candidate from Sikh ladies constituency.

He said that Giani Sher Singh's Party wanted me to see Sardar Amar Singh of the *Sher-i-Punjab*, Lahore, as they were anxious to cooperate with some Moslem Party in the forthcoming elections. I agreed and we met at tea last evening.

Sardar Amar Singh said that there were three Sikh Parties and their chances of gaining seats was as under :—

Chief Khalsa Diwan	5
Sher Singh's Party	9
Tara Singh's Party	19
Total	33

I told Sardar Amar Singh that they had better cooperate with you (Sir Mian Fazli Hosen). He agreed, provided that

1. You agreed that if and when the Communal Award was amended you would try to get the Sikhs their due share which they believe they have not received under the existing arrangement.

2. You help them financially and morally understanding that they will join your party when a rearrangement of parties occurs after the elections for the purposes of making ministries on such conditions as the Sikhs may be able to get from any other Moslem group (if any) which may be strong enough to form a ministry.

I told Amar Singh that the best advice that I could give to his party was to put their ideas in black and white and send them on

I distinctly told them that my intervention was unnecessary, yet, I agreed to forward their written statement to you if they thought it necessary.

Sardar Amar Singh further told me that Tara Singh's party had come to an understanding with the Ahrars who agreed to have the Communal Award set aside as they did not believe in the same.

With kind regurds,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Habib

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Sir Mian Fazli Hosen Sahib,
M. A., LL. D., K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.,
Bar-at-Law,
Dalhousie.

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525. Dalhousie,
24th June, 1936.

Dear Syed Habib,

Yours of the 23rd received when I had already dictated my letter in answer to your last one.

The Khalsa. Thanks for the information. There is no harm in what you have told them. The conditions you mention are both ridiculous and insulting. Can't you as a fair minded man see for yourself. Your advice to Amar Singh to put down in writing what they want and give it to you or to me was sound. When you listen to a man, don't you think it is your duty to tell him what you think of what he has said? Do you talk to these people with the sole object of pleasing them?

Your last paragraph saying that Ahrars had agreed to help in getting the communal award set aside—is it intended to say, that I should also do the same? I can agree to the modification of communal award only if it is to benefit the Muslims and you can do away with it only when adult franchise prevails and joint electorates with-

out reservation of seats are introduced. Are your friends agreeable to this?

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Your starting a new organization for Shahidganj Mosque and your *Qasidas* in honour of Ghazanfar Ali and Pir Sahib of Jalalpur and the next day starting criticism of Pir Sahib and his brother, all these cannot but mystify those interested in your welfare.

Fazl-i-Husain

526.
Private & Confidential

Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Bombay.
25th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I arrived back safely yesterday though very tired after my long and hurried tour. I was extremely busy in Lahore and consequently asked Ahmad Yar to inform you of the result of my conversations with Mian Abdul Aziz and Raja Narendra Nath. On the whole I consider our talks to be fairly satisfactory.

Mian Abdul Aziz after protracted discussion showed an inclination to agree to our proposal to undertake organisation of the Lahore city branch of the party. He promised to secure a mandate from Ar-Rain Anjuman on the 28th as they have called a meeting for that date. Besides Mian Abdul Aziz, Mian Nur Ahmad, President of the Anjuman was also present throughout discussion. He also promised support. Ahmad Yar must have given you the details.

Raja Narendra Nath was very reasonable. Incidentally he asked me to convey a personal message to you which is this: "Tell Fazli Husain from me that although one may have acute political differences, I am one of his admirers and consider him to be one of the outstanding personalities and leaders. I bear him no personal grudge and wish him good health." Raja Narendra Nath will try to secure at least 20 people and very likely 30 or 35, who may be prepared to work with us. I did not go into details as that can best be done when you are present. At any rate

it would have been premature to discuss them at this stage. I can do this after consulting you and in accordance with your instructions when I come back. There is no particular hurry so long as the main objective, *viz.*, a fairly effective section promising to join hands with us, is secured. I am hopeful that we will get substantial support from this group.

You must have seen the sensational and wholly unfounded conjectures published in the '*People*'. I asked Ahmad Yar to publish a categorical contradiction on my authority and trust he has done the needful.

Do look after yourself and do not overstrain your energy and health.

My examination in the Peoples Bank case went off satisfactorily I think.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

Punjab Unionist Party

527.

Headquarters,
14-A, Davis Road,
Lahore.
25th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Just now when I was coming to the office Bhaijan told me that he received a letter from you in which you were displeased with me and Sikander over our talks with Raja Sahib. I personally feel that we did a great service to the Party. Sikander definitely told Raja Sahib that he was working to strengthen the Party if possible and made it clear to every one that he was doing so as your agent. It was a long discussion and I believe a successful one. I spent (now I feel I wasted) 5 hours with Sir Iqbal and induced him to write a letter to Mr. Jinnah which he must have done today asking him to make it clear that League parties in every Council would work with the Party which will have the majority [of] Muslims in it. Mr. Jinnah may not agree to it and in that case his resignation is not probable

but inevitable. Again in the evening he had *Ihsan* people with him and sent for me and I feel that its opposition will soon cease.

Sikander asked me to write to you everything in detail and I did so day before yesterday. I am really pained to hear and it means that however I work hard and act loyally I cannot have your confidence. My effort throughout the day and night is to swell our ranks and remove all misunderstandings that people have about our Party, its leaders and our loyalty to each other, the Party and to the leader.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

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528. 3, Durand Road,
Personal Lahore.
26th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter. The whole thing that appeared in *People* and *Milap* was contradicted. I don't know if Sikander talked to Raja Sahib under your instructions or otherwise and if Sir Sikander wishes the matter to be placed before the Party that is the thing between you and him.

The note that I sent you was personal and confidential and I can not agree to its contents being disclosed to anyone else. The note is with you and if you wish to make it public to the members of the Party I can only say that I will strongly request you to the contrary. I wrote that letter in strict confidence to you in person.

I feel I have lost your confidence and it will be better for the party and myself if I am got rid of at once.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
529. 27th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have to gratefully acknowledge your three letters of the 24th instant and yet another from your P. A. The office will, I am sure,

see that all your orders regarding the paper are carried out carefully. I may, however, add that Sir Feroz Khan Noon was getting his paper regularly and now I am transferring his paper to London. The question of subscription in his case does not arise.

It is indeed very kind of you to say that you were getting the "*Siyasat*" gratis. I, of course, know how much you paid for the same and am indeed very grateful to you for all that you have done for it.

In one of the two of your personal letters to me you assure me that there is no lack of appreciation of my services to your party. I thank you for that statement. But I do not subscribe to your idea that I do not appreciate your limitations.

The position to me appears to be this. You appreciate my humble services and wish to retain these. I feel honored in serving the cause so dear to you and me and am anxious to continue. We cannot agree on certain matters because either of us believes that the others do not appreciate the limitations of the other.

I am glad to learn that you are coming to Lahore. I wonder if I will be here in those days. If I am here, of course, I will try to get an interview at your convenience. I believe your time is too valuable to be taken up by idle correspondence. It is for you to decide once for all if we can co-operate in the coming elections. Once this point is decided the question of my standing as a candidate from some constituency shall be solved automatically.

In your second letter there is a post-script. I am grieved to note that even you do not realise the difference between the reporting of news and editorial comment. I reported faithfully what happened in Pind Dadan Khan. But I disapproved of what Pir Sahib said and commented accordingly.

I told Raja Gazanfar Ali very clearly that I was in his opponents' camp in politics. He knew it and in spite of this invited me to Pind Dadan Khan. I agreed for certain reasons which, however, I may tell you, were not financial.

I have taken up the work of Shahidganj Mosque because I believe that the Mosque can be retrieved by constitutional agitation.

I hope you have received my letter regarding S. Gopal Singh Khalsa. As to my talk with Amar Singh I need not say much. I do not speak with any body with the sole purpose of pleasing. You personally could testify to that. But when I was speaking to Amar Singh I was doubtful if he will pursue the point and I knew if he did you were the principal and not I. I therefore, did not care to be very particular and advised them according to my light.

I have often humbly submitted to you that I report what I learn to you without prejudice and without any effort at influencing you because I believe I understand you a bit. Please take in this light all that I said about the Communal Award, and the Sikhs and the Ahrars.

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Habib

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Dr.
Sir Mian Fazle Hosen Sahib,
M. A., LL.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Bar-at-Law,
Educational Minister,
Punjab Government, Lahore.

530.

3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
29th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 28th from Gurdaspur. The whole thing was a riddle to me till Bhaijan has told me all about it. There are no 2 policies I can assure you. I can not explain why Sir Sikander talked to Raja Sahib. He definitely told him that you were his leader and that there is no difference of opinion and what he was to do would be as your agent.

I thought you wanted to place this particular incident before the Party as a censure to us while I was unable to understand the gravity of the offence. I thought you were displeased with my statement and I phoned up Sikander who has authorised me to issue anything

on his behalf which you think proper or necessary. He has not yet understood the whole thing in the correct way.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

I am going with children to assist Chaudhri Sahib and propose to return tomorrow evening.

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531. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
30th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I have just returned from Pathankote. To my great relief I have now begun to realize the whole situation. Chaudhri Sahib explained to me the whole thing and Sikander has sent me message through Hakim Ahmad Shuja who returned from Bombay this morning. I hope I will be able to relieve you of your worry. Sir Sikander has assured me again that he has left everything to you entirely and is and shall always remain firm to his undertakings given to you. The difficulty was that I could not get more than ten minutes with him during his second stay at Lahore at H. M. R's place and I was not present during the early part of his talk with Raja Sahib.

I have brought again bad cold from Pathankote and have a bad ear-ache. I can [not] attend anything tomorrow evening or day after tomorrow. I don't want to come near you in the present condition as according to Feroze my cold is terribly infectious.

Hope you are quite well now. Bhaijan made me anxious about your health but am delighted to find from O.S. Citus [?] that you are quite well now. He just phoned me up.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

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532. No. 2867. The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
30th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

After my talk with you yesterday I beg to place the services of my

[*sic.*] unreservedly and unconditionally for your disposal and that of your party.

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Habib

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir
Mian Fazle Hosen Sahib, Kt.,
M. A., LL. D., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Bar-at-Law,
Minister of Education, Punjab,
Lahore.

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533. The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
No. 2868, 30th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

After placing my services and those of my paper unconditionally at your disposal I beg to submit the following few points for your consideration. Your decision, whatever it may be, shall be acceptable to me. However adverse the decision, it will not affect my promise contained in my letter No. 2867 of even date.

1. You offered me Rs. 100/- p.m. from 1st May, 1936 from the Funds of your Party. A similar offer was made to the *Inqilab* and the *Eastern Times*. The *Inqilab* gets official notices and also makes money from the printing work that your Party gives them. Both these advantages are not open to me. I, therefore, request that the offer in my case be reconsidered.

2. I suggest that whatever has been paid by you or your party, to the *Zamindar* in a lump sum may also be given to the "*Siyasat*" and our monthly allowance in no case should be less than that paper.

3. I like the idea of the Papers of the Party being sent to different centres. As I have no right to limit the number of papers to which the Party may extend its patronage I request that whatever the number of such papers, the number of centres that are allotted to my paper should in no case be less than one third of the total.

4. That any amount that you are pleased to sanction for my paper under paras 1 and 2 above, may kindly be sent to me to-day.

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Habib

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Dr. Sir Mian Fazli Husain Sahib Kt.
M. A., LL. D., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Bar-at-Law,
Minister of Education, Punjab,
Lahore.

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534. The Daily "Siyasat", Lahore.
No. 2870, 30th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

With reference to my interview with you yesterday, I beg to offer my humble personal services gratis for your Party. I would not like to be an office-holder. I am prepared for a particular branch or establish branches throughout the Province. I believe I can be useful in more districts than one.

I may, however, add that if I am required to give more time than a couple of hours daily, the Party shall have to provide an Editor for my paper. The cost of such an arrangement shall in no case be less than Rs. 150/- p.m.

If we are given an Editor I shall be able to devote as much time to the work of the Party as may be necessary and shall be able to go and remain out of station for any number of days. Of course my travelling expenses shall have to be paid by the Party.

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Habib

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur
Dr. Sir Mian Fazli Husain Sahib Kt.
M. A., LL. D., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Bar-at, Law,
Minister of Education, Punjab,
Lahore.

535.
Private & Confidential

Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Bombay.
30th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Ahmadyar has sent me a copy of your letter of the 24th June and of his letter of the 26th June. Please forgive me for venturing to point out that your letter seems to me unnecessarily censorious and, if I may say so, unjust. Ahmadyar is thoroughly loyal to you and so am I. It is therefore unfair to suspect his *bona fides* or mine. I am afraid mischief-mongers who, as you yourself said, do not like our joining hands, are still busy and may be poisoning you against Ahmadyar and myself by false reports. My recollection is—I have not the statement before me—that the contradiction published by Ahmadyar contained, *inter alia* the expression "the insinuations and conjectures are without any foundation" or words to that effect. Surely if you thought that the statement was not sufficiently clear or unequivocal you should have instructed Ahmadyar to amplify it. I wrote to you immediately after my arrival in Bombay and made it clear that my conversation with Raja Sahib was of a casual nature and I did not go into details etc. as I had not consulted you. My letter, of course, could not have reached you before the 27th or 28th. I hope it may have cleared the position and removed any doubts or misgivings, which may have been created by unauthentic and mischievous reports from other quarters. Kindly do not allow yourself to be upset by small things. I have repeatedly requested you to ignore with contempt the petty intriguers who, for sordid personal motives, will continue to do everything possible to make mischief. I would earnestly appeal to you once again not to allow yourself to be influenced by their nefarious activities and backbiting.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., etc.,
Minister for Education,
Government of the Punjab,
Empress Road, Lahore.

536.

Rohtak.
30th June, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

As desired by you I am sending Mr. Verma's article to the headquarters for publication in the press.

I am enclosing Mr. Verma's letter to me. Would you like him to send his contributions to the "Roy's Weekly", or to the daily press of the Punjab or to both simultaneously?

When Mr. Verma wrote his first article he had not read any literature relating to our Party. Since then he has had time to go through the pamphlet on the Punjab "National Unionist Party" which I wrote in 1932 and also the pamphlet on "Indebtedness". If he is kept well-posted which I undertake to do, he can write quite effectively and enthusiastically in support of our Party. He is inclined to be more or less a complete socialist. I am only half a socialist and our party also has a fairly distinct tinge of socialism about it.

Under the circumstances I think he can write quite well with regard to the activities and achievements of our party not in the spirit of a critical socialist but in the spirit of a well-disposed friend.

Please let me know as soon as you can so that I may be able to inform Hissar, Karnal and Gurgaon people in time to enable them to see you at Ambala. I have already written to certain friends at Ambala, and if you can stay for a day or two on your way to Simla they will certainly see you in any case. Chaudhry Lal Chand and I along with our Hissarl and Karnal friends will come only if we hear in time that you are staying at Ambala for two days.

In order to keep you up-to-date with regard to the activities of our friends in the various districts I am also enclosing herewith a letter from Mian Mehar Chand of Hoshiarpur district. I need not comment upon it.

I had received a similar letter from Th. Puncham Chand a couple of days ago. Both the letters are quite encouraging.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

The Hon'ble
Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., Kt.,
Bakrota Hall, Dalhousie.

537. Punjab Unionist Party

Headquarters
14-A, Davis Road, Lahore.
2nd July, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I am sorry to hear you are unwell. Pray for speedy and complete recovery. I went to Hazrat Mianmir this morning and hope my prayer will be granted.

Sikander must have written to you. He has asked me to tell you that he will blindly follow and will do everything that you order him to do and will see that no misunderstanding is created in future.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

Personal, Secret & Confidential

P. S.

I have received your letter of yesterday. The enclosure will be handed to Sikander at 7.

I was surprised to find that H.M.R., in spite of knowing that Sikander was going to Simla is on a visit to Lahore just for today. At his house I found about a dozen stalwarts of Wah family, several non-Muslim politicians, Mehr Shah, Justice Din Mohd and others. Sikander has been bombarded with requests not to return to the Punjab as the 2nd Minister but wait his chance to become the Chief.

Some of them are anxious that he should not go to Dalhousie or at least postpone his Dalhousie visit till after his return from Simla. God knows what not has been spread there. I suspect H.M.R. and H.M.A. as accomplices. Sikander so far is quite firm like a rock.

A. Yar

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538.

Yarrow Ville,
Simla, S. W.
5th July, 1936.

Dear Guru,

I had a long interview with Haig at Nainital and put my case

before him. He has promised to do his best, and must have represented to the Government of India by now. He does not think Craik will be influenced by Bengal.

(2) We had prolonged meetings at Nainital for two days, and arrived at the conclusion that a meeting of U. P. Muslims should be summoned by 25th instant to devise ways and means to counteract Jinnah's Parliamentary Board. With the exception of the Congress Muslims, Jinnah is not likely to secure useful recruits for his new party.

The failures who have done nothing since the Reforms will go on hopping from Jinnah to our party, but they will fail miserably.

I urged Haig to talk to Salempore and Mahmudabad. He has given a bit of his mind to Salempore and the latter has promised to write to you, and ask you for details of your party. This is what Haig told me, but Salempore is a slippery fellow, and he will go on intriguing. Chhatari has been effectively cornered but his conclaves with Congressmen, Jinnahites and others continue. Being destitute of fixed principles, he is casting his eyes round for allies in all quarters.

(3) We are all delighted to hear of Azim's nomination to the I.C.S. Of all the boys I have met—and I have had to do with nearly 3,000—I have found that boy to be one of the smartest and most intelligent. But I miss your second boy the most. He had a drive and a personality which captivated everyone. Azim will shape splendidly. A political career for a boy of the middle class, without a substantial and assured income, is a risky venture, otherwise I would have unhesitatingly advised him to start practice and enter public life.

(4) I hope you are now completely restored to health.

I leave for Moradabad on the 10th.

With the kindest and most affectionate regards,

Shafaat

Would it not be worth-while to wake up other provinces, such as Bombay etc, and ask them to organise against Jinnah ? True, they are doing it themselves; but more could be done by centralising all

the forces and coordinating them, particularly during the Assembly session ?

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539. Governor of Punjab

Barnes Court,
Simla E,
6th July 1936.

My dear Fazli,

This is just a line to say how sorry I am to hear of your illness. I hope you will be quickly fit again. In the meantime you are not to worry about files or think of coming up to Simla until the doctors say you can come without any detriment to your health.

With best wishes,

Don't brother [?] to answer this.

Your sincerely,
H. M. Emerson

The Hon' ble
Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
KCSI., KCIE.,
Minister for Education, Punjab Govt.
Camp Lahore.

540.

CARLTON PARC,
GENEVA,
6th July, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Please forgive the long delay in writing to you, but I preferred waiting till at least the first steps had been taken. Also please accept my warmest thanks for your full and most illuminating letters. My agents have sent you the first part of my grant, due to my horse *Mahmud* winning the Derby otherwise I should not have been able financially to so help you. The second part I will send at the end of August or early September from my Bombay office.

Now, several friends such as Fazal Rahimtulla, Mohammad Yakub and last, but by no means least, the Nawab of Chhitari, have been writing to me and I have urged them to see you and to follow your guidance and organise themselves on similar lines. May I beg of

you to give a direct lead to the Moslems of India at this critical juncture in their history. The next elections will be life and death and the wise policy you have followed in the Punjab if generally applied will give our people not only what they want, but possibilities of co-operation with other sister communities, without which we are lost. At this time, when it is quite impossible for me, living and working here at this moment, I beg of you not to hide your light under a bushel. Would you come out and give an all-India Moslem lead on lines such as you have so successfully followed, if I may say so in your own Province. I rely on a real clarion call that will remove all hesitations, doubts and pessimism that prevail amongst our people at this grave time.

Yours ever,
Aga Khan

Sir Fazl-i-Husain,
Empress Road,
Lahore.

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541. Brockhurst No. 1,
Simla, E.
May 18, 1924.[1]

Dear Habib Ullah,

Yours of the 15th instant.

1. Place of meeting—Having once made your choice you should not change it. The great thing is to stand firm. One advantage is that when the meeting is very poorly attended as it happens some times during the course of the sittings, in a very big place, the meeting will look ridiculous, and in a small place, if it is overflowing, it is a good thing.

2. Your Committee should now meet every day, and there should be more propaganda in the Press than has taken place uptill now.

3. Vice-Presidents in the Mufassil—That is a great pity. We should not allow this opportunity to pass without getting some money out of the people. Mohammad Husain promised definitely that he will pay up.

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1. Letters No. 541-543 were discovered later; hence out of place. (*Ed.*)

4. I have had a letter from Aziz Ahmad accepting the invitation to tea but asking whether I would send him a Card for the session of the League. You should have approached him long before now, either to join the League or to become a member of the Reception Committee.

5. I shall hold you responsible if Sheikh Abdul Qadir or anybody else is not keenly and actively taking part in these affairs. As a matter of fact you should make a point of going to Sheikh Sahib and asking him to help you in formulating the resolutions. You should also approach Chishti Sahib and request him to take more part in the work than he has recently been doing. Get more and more people to work, because you are very few.

6. Your list of those people who are coming has not yet appeared in the Press. Why have you not sent a short note to Press showing that the wellknown Khilafat and Congress leader, Maulana Mushir Husain Kidvai, of European fame, has written to say that he will attend the League session, and it has been arranged that he will be putting up with Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir on Temple Road, Lahore. A para like this sent by your office will have done a very useful service. Something should be done for others, as for instance, Sheikh Ghulam Bhik Nairang. I will be glad to accommodate him in my house. You are doing a good deal, but I want you to do still more.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sardar Habib Ullah Sahib,
Bar-at-Law,
50 McLeod Road, Lahore.

542.

Brockhurst No. 1,
Simla, E.
May 29, 1924.

Dear Habib Ullah,

The success which attanded upon our venture—All-India Muslim League Session—to a large extent was due to your devotion to this work

and I congratulate you on it. You are still Secretary of the Reception Committee, which has not been wound up, and therefore please attend to the following :

1. Send a list of the Vice-Presidents of the Reception Committee to the Press;

2. Send a letter to each Vice-President acknowledging his subscription and thanking him for the same ;

3. Appoint an Auditor for your accounts ;

4. Ask each Sub-Committee to make a report of their work—arrangements made by them and expenses incurred by them.

5. Make up your accounts as carefully as possible. Have them audited and then publish a very short report, giving all the accounts. I am emphasising this part of the work that you should do with a view to set a good example for others to follow and to inspire confidence amongst the people in you and your colleagues when you approach them next time for financial help. This report and these accounts you can get prepared by the paid clerical staff you have already engaged. Tell them that they must finish this work within 3 or 4 days. This report should be published and sent to each member of the League and the Reception Committee besides being sent to the public Press.

Are you coming to Simla for the 2nd of June to receive the new Governor ? If you can manage it, I think it would be a good thing for you to come up, as I want to mention one or two things to you. If you can't come by the 2nd of June, when can you come up at your earliest convenience ?

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sardar Habib Ullah Sahib,
Bar-at-Law,
50 McLeod Road, Lahore.

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543. Brockhurst No, 1,
Simla, E.
5th June, 1924.

Dear Habib Ullah,

Yours of the 3rd May. Thanks for copies of Addresses.

Now what can I do to remove your disappointment at not seeing me knighted? Are you sure that it would have raised me a great deal up in your estimation if I had been knighted? I thought you were really above such trifles. If I find that the Punjab public would think any better of me if I were knighted, I will probably have to apply for it.

When you have not yet told me you intend coming to Simla.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Sardar Habib Ullah Sahib,
Bar-at-Law,
50 McLeod Road, Lahore.

PERSONALITIES

1. Abdullah Haroon, Seth Haji Sir, b. 1876 ; general merchant and philanthropist; proprietor and director of several factories, estates and organisations; member Legislative Assembly since 1926; President, All India Muslim Conference, 1934; knighted in 1937; donated Rs. 10,000 to Jinnah Fund at Allahabad session of the Muslim League, 1942; President, Sind Muslim Provincial League and Member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at the time of his death on 27 April 1942. Jinnah described him as 'one of the strongest pillars of the Muslim League.' *Star of India*, 29 April 1942.

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2. Abdul Qadir, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Sir, b. 1874 ; educ. Forman Christian College, Lahore, and Lincoln's Inn; Editor, the *Observer* and the *Makhzan*, Lahore, 1895-1904 ; Advocate and Public Prosecutor, Lyallpur, 1907-20; Additional Judge, High Court of Judicature, Lahore; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, Lahore, 1923; Deputy President, 1924; the first elected President of the Punjab Legislative Council, January-September 1925, when he resigned the Chair on his appointment as acting Member for Education, Punjab ; on termination of that duty sat on the Committee of Inquiry appointed to examine the Jails Administration in the Punjab; deputed as a full delegate to represent India at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, 1926; knighted in 1927; acted as Revenue Member of the Executive Council, Punjab Government, 1927; Member, Public Service Commission, 1929; Member, Council of the Secretary of State for India, 1934-7, Adviser, 1937-9 ; Fellow of the Punjab University ; d. 9 February 1951.

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3. Aga Khan, third, His Highness Rt. Hon Sultan Sir Muhammad Shah, (having succeeded in 1885); b. at Karachi on 2 November

1877 ; hon. LL.D., Cantab. ; made K. C. I. E. in 1898, G. C. I. E. in 1902, G. C. S. I. in 1911, G. C. V. O. in 1923, G. C. M. G. in 1955 when, outside the royal family, he stood alone in the possession of these four Grand Crosses; head of the Ismaili Muslims ; Lord Curzon nominated him to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, (1902-4) where he assisted Lord Kitchner in his efforts to obtain increases of Imperial service troops from the Indian States; founded the Muslim University, Aligarh, 1910 ; led the deputation of the Indian Muslims to Viceroy, Lord Minto, in 1906 to ask for separate electorates for the Indian Muslims ; permanent President of the Muslim League, 1906-13 ; President of the Muslim Conference, 1928-9 ; Chairman of the British Indian delegation at the Indian Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1930-3 ; sworn to the Privy Council in 1934, being the first Indian, other than the members of the Judicial Committee to be given this honour ; led the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1932, 1934, 1935 and 1936 and was the first Indian to be elected its President in 1937 ; winner of several Derby and other horse races ; remained in France during the Second World War ; took up Persian citizenship in 1949 while remaining a British subject ; d. 11 July 1957. 'Had more varied claims to fame than any contemporary Indian, and for many years exercised a marked influence on imperial and international affairs. That influence was invariably used for the maintenance and advancement of good relations between the British Commonwealth and the countries of the Near and Middle East...... He exemplified the culture of the East and West in happy combination. A Persian by descent and an Indian by adoption he spoke the principal languages of Europe with great fluency, and knew the leading figures in every Western country as well as Asia.' Obituary, *The Times*, 12 July 1957.

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4. Ahmad Ali Khan Alawee, Raja Sir Syed, of Salempur, b. 11 March 1891 ; educ. Government Jubilee College, Lucknow ; succeeded his father as Taluqdar of Salempur, 1914 ; M. B. E., 1920 ; Raja, 1921 ; C. B. E., 1928 ; Member, U. P. Legislative Council,

1924-35 ; elected to Provincial Assembly and accepted to join the Interim Ministry as Education Minister when the Congress refused to accept the office ; Member, National Defence Council of India, 1941 ; knighted in 1943 ; Member of Central Assembly, 1946 ; President, Shia Central Board of Waqf, U. P. ; address, Salempur House, 25, Kaiserbagh, Lucknow, U. P., India.

(from Who is Who, 1960; not mentioned in Who is Who, 1966).

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5. Akbar Hydari, Rt. Hon. Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur, Sir, P. C. 1936, b. 8 November 1869; educ. St. Xavier's College, Bombay ; Joined Indian Finance Department, 1888; Assistant Accountant-General, United Provinces, 1890; Deputy Accountant-General, Bombay, 1897; Madras, 1900; Examiner, Government Press Accounts, 1901; Comptroller Indian Treasuries, 1903; Central Provinces, 1900; lent as Accountant-General, Hyderabad State, 1905 ; Financial Secretary, 1907; Secretary to Government, Home Department, 1911; acting Director-General of Commerce and Industries, 1919: Accountant-General, Bombay, 1920; Finance and Railway Member Hyderabad State Executive Council, 1921-37; also Member for Co-operative Credit and Mines Departments, 1927; Officiating Director, Singareni Collieries Co. Ltd., 1922, and Mining Boards, 1925; Chairman, Inter-University Board, 1925; knighted in 1928; Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1935; First President, Hyderabad Educational Conference, 1915; President, All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference, Calcutta, 1917; President, Nizam's State Railways; Head of Hyderabad Delegation to the Indian Round Table Conference, London, 1930-2 and to Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933; Chairman, Committee of Indian States Ministers, 1934-41; President, External Relations Committee, Constitutional Reforms Secretariat, Hyderabad, 1936; President Hyderabad State Executive Council, 1937-41; delivered Punjab University Convocation address, 1925; Fellow of the Bombay, Dacca, Aligarh Muslim and Hyderabad Osmania Universities ; conceived and organised Osmania University, Hyderabad ; helped in the production of Urdu *nastaliq* type ; organised State

Archaeological Department ; negotiated the State purchase of railways ; especially interested in Ajanta frescoes and Indian paintings ; Member for Information, Governor-General's Executive Council, from 1941 until his death on 8 January 1942.

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6. Alma Latifi, b. 12 November 1879; educ. Bombay, London, Paris, Heidelberg, Cairo and Cambridge, (LL.D. Dublin) ; married 1908, Nasima, daughter of late Justice Badruddin Tyabji, Bombay ; entered Indian Civil Service 1903; Assistant Commissioner in Punjab, 1903; since held administrative, judicial, secretariat and political offices; inquired Punjab industries, 1909-10; duty with Press Camp, Delhi, Coronation Durbar, 1911; District Judge, Delhi, 1911-12; Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad State, 1913-16; Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, 1918-21; Secretary Transferred Departments, also M. L. C., Punjab, 1921-4; Deputy Commissioner, Karnal, 1924-7; Commissioner, Ambala, also Member, Council of State, 1927; Delegate, International Law Conference, The Hague, March 1930; substitute delegate and adviser, International Labour Conference, Geneva, June 1930; Delegate, Inter-Parliamentary Conference, London, July 1930; duty with Indian Round Table Conferences, London, where he was Secretary to the Indian Muslim delegation, 1930-2; Secretary, Consultative Committee of Round Table Conference, Delhi, January 1932; Commissioner Multan, March 1931, and Lahore, January 1933; Financial Commissioner, Revenue, Punjab, 1934-7; Member, Defence Services Select Committee, Bombay, 1942-5; Adjudicator in various Industrial Disputes, Bombay, 1942-5; d. 16 August 1959.

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7. Amiruddin, Mian, b. 1889; educ. Government College, Lahore, 1911; Member, Lahore Municipality (later Corporation), 1924-54; First Mayor, Lahore Corporation, 1946; re-elected 1947; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1941-6; Financial Secretary, Punjab Muslim League, 1938-49; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, Jinnah Muslim League, 1950; rejoined Muslim League, 1953; Fellow, Punjab University; President, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam; leads retired life in Lahore.

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8. Anderson, Sir John (Lord Waverley), b. 1882; entered Colonial Office, 1905; Chairman, Board of Inland Revenue, 1919-22; Permanent Under-Secretary Home Office, 1922-32, Governor of Bengal, 1932-7; Lord Privy Seal, 1938-9; Home Secretary, 1939-40; Lord President of the Council, 1940-3; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1943-5; member of War Cabinet, 1940-5; created Viscount Waverley, 1952; 'recommended by Churchill as prime minister in case of his own death and that of Eden'. A.J.P. Taylor, *English History, 1914-1945*, (Oxford, 1965), p. 242; d. 1958.

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9. Andreina, Lady Hailey, daughter of Count Hanibale Balzani; married Malcolm Hailey, 1896, gave birth to a son (killed in the Second World War) and a daughter (died in 1922); d. 1939.

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10. Andrews, C. F., b. 1871, Journalist; went to South Africa to help Smut-Gandhi Agreement, 1913-14; went to Fiji concerning industrial Indian labour, 1915-17; Adviser to Indian Delegation to Kenya conversations, London, 1923; helped in the Indo-Union Agreement in South Africa in 1927; correspondent of *Manchester Guardian*, *Natal Advertiser*, *Toronto Star*, *Modern Review* and the *Hindu*; was close associate of M. K. Gandhi on whom wrote several books; d. 1940.

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11. Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar, b. 1891; educ. Muir Central College, Allahabad and Merton College, Oxford; entered Indian Civil Service 1914; served as Under-Secretary to Government of United Provinces and as Secretary for India at Imperial Conference, 1921, and at Conference for Limitation of Armaments, Washington, 1921-2; deputed to visit Canada, New Zealand and Australia to investigate status of Indians, 1922; Under-Secretary to Government of India, Education, Health and Lands Department, 1923; officiating Deputy Secretary, 1924; was Secretary to Indian Deputation to South Africa, 1925-6 and to Round Table Conference on Indian Question in South Africa, 1926-7; also adviser to Indian Delegation, Imperial Conference, 1926; Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, 1927-9; Adviser to Indian Delegations to 10th

Assembly of the League of Nations and to Conference on Dominion Legislation, 1929; Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, 1929; Adviser to Indian Delegations to the Assembly of the League of Nations and to the Imperial Conference, 1930; Joint Secretary to the British Indian Delegation to the Indian Round Table Conference, first and second session, 1930-1; Member-Secretary of the Government of India Delegation to the Second Round Table Conference with representatives of the Government of the Union of South Africa, 1932; knighted in 1935; temporary Member of Executive Council of Governor-General of India, September 1935-January 1936; Secretary to Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, 1932-40; Member, 1940-1; Agent-General for India, Washington, D.C., 1941-7; Secretary-General of Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1947-52; adviser to Prime Minister of India, Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, 1948, and meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, 1949 and 1951; Representative of India, Kashmir negotiations under U.N., 1953; Governor of Bombay from 1952 until his death on 5 December 1954.

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12. Barkat Ali, Malik, b. 1 April, 1885; educ. Government High School. Delhi Gate, Lahore, and Forman Christian College, Lahore, 1900-1906; brilliant academic career; Assistant Professor (English) Forman Christian College, Lahore, 1905; Assistant Professor, Islamia College, Lahore, 1908; LL.B., 1916; Extra-Assistant Commissioner/Magistrate, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Campbellpur, Ferozepur, Lyallpur, Jhelum in the Punjab, 1908-1914; resigned from the Government Service, 1914; worked on the staff of *Indian Law Cases*, 1914; Editor, *the Observer*, 1914-18; joined the Punjab Muslim League, 1916; started legal practice in Lahore, 1919; Vice-President, Khilafat Committee, 1928; Organized "Punjab Provincial Nationalist Muslim Party", 1931; Secretary, All-India Kashmir Committee, 1933; rejoined Muslim League, and elected vice-President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, 1936; Editor/Publisher, *New Times* Lahore, 1936; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly (the only Member

representing the Muslim League), 1937; collapsed while debating in the House, and died on 5 April, 1946.

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13. **Benn, W. Wedgwood**, b. 10 May 1877; educ. University of London; M.P., 1906-31 and 1937-42; a Junior Lord of the Treasury, 1910-15; originally Liberal, joined Labour party, 1927; Secretary of State for India, 1929-31; delegate to the first two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; served in R.A.F., 1940-5; Vice-President, Allied Control Commission for Italy, 1943-4; created first Viscount Stansgate, 1941; President, Inter-parliamentary Union, 1947-57; d. 17 November 1960.

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14. Bokhari, Ataullah Shah, b. 1891, Patna; religious and political leader; founder, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam; front rank leader of independence movements; spent 18 years in jail; supported All-India Muslim League in the beginning but left in 1929-30 owing to differences; great orator and public speaker; lived mostly in Amritsar but settled in Multan in 1947, where he died in 1961.

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15. Chetwode, General Sir Philip, b. 1869; entered Army 1889; Chief of General Staff in India 1928-30; Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, 1930-5; created Baron 1945 ; d. 1950.

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16. Chhatari, Nawab, Muhammad Ahmad Saeed Khan, of, b. 1888; K. C. S. I., 1933; K. C. I. E., 1928; M. B. E., 1918; educ. M. A. O. College (later Muslim University), Aligarh; Member. Legislative Council, United Provinces, 1920-25; Minister of Industries, United Provinces, 1923-25; Home Member United Provinces, 1926-33; Acting Governor, United Provinces, 1928; Attended first and second Round Table Conferences, 1930 and 1931; Governor, United Provinces, 1933-34; Chief Minister, United Provinces; President, All-India Muslim Rajput Conference, 1923; President, Nizam's Executive Council, Hyderabad Deccan, 1941 d....?

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17. Chhotu Ram, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir, b. 1882; educ. St. Stephen's Mission High School and College in Delhi (graduated in 1905) and Law College, Agra, (LL. B. 1911); Assistant Private Secretary to Raja of Oudh, 1905; teacher in the Rang Mahal High School, Lahore, before joining the Law College, Agra; practised at Agra and later at Rohtak ; editor, *Jat Gazette*, 1916-24, originally contributed to Arya Samaj creed ; joined Congress in 1916, (President, Rohtak District Congress Committee, 1917-20) and resigned from it in 1921 over Gandhi's policy of non-co-operation ; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1921-45; founder-member of Fazl-i-Husain's National Unionist Party, Punjab, 1923, and since remained a staunch champion of Unionism, (Leader of the Party, 1926-36); knighted in 1937; Minister, Punjab Government, 1925 and from 1937 to his death on 9 January 1945. He 'devoted himself to the interests of the agricultural class of all castes and religion.' Obituary, *The Times*, 13 January 1945.

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18. Corbett, Sir Geoffrey Latham, b. 9 February 1881; entered Indian Civil Service 1904; Assistant Commissioner, Central Provinces, 1905; Settlement Officer and Deputy Commissioner, Central Provinces, 1910-18; Director of Industries and Controller of Munitions, Central Provinces, 1918; Deputy Secretary, Government of India, Commerce Department, 1919; on deputation in South and East Africa, 1920; with British Delegation, Washington Disarmament Conference, 1921; on deputation to Fiji Islands, 1922; Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department, 1923; Joint Secretary, 1924; Secretary, 1926; represented India at Capetown Conference, 1926 and 1932; Conferences on Safety of Life at Sea, and Load-line, London, 1929 and 1930; Assembly of the League of Nations, International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1929 ; Imperial Conference, London, 1930; Secretary, British Indian Delegation, 1930-1; Chairman of Food Council, 1932-5; Reader in Indian History, Oxford University, 1932; Adviser to Ministry of Commerce and Industries, Egypt, 1935-7; d. 2 November 1937.

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19. Craik, Sir Henry Duffield, b. 2 January 1876; educ. Eton and Pambroke College, Oxford; entered Indian Civil Service 1898; served in the Punjab and settlement Officer, Sessions Judge and Secretary to Government ; in Home Department, Government of India, 1919-22; Chief Secretary, Punjab, 1922-7; Commissioner, 1927; Member, Punjab Executive Council, 1930-4; Home Member of Governor-General's Executive Council, 1934-8; Governor of the Punjab, 1938-41; Political Adviser to the Viceroy, 1941-3; d. 26 March 1955.

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20. Cunningham, Sir George, b. 23 March 1888; educ. Fettes and Magdalen College, Oxford; entered Indian Civil Service, 1911; served since 1914 on North-West Frontier, India; Personal Assistant to Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, 1915-19; Political Agent, North Waziristan, 1922-3; Counsellor, British Legation, Kabul, 1925-6; Private Secretary to the Viceroy, 1926-31; Member of the Executive Council, North-West Frontier Province, 1932-36; Foreign and Political Department, Government of India ; Governor of North-West Frontier Province; 1937-46 and 1947-8; Rector of St. Andrews University, 1946-9; Honorary Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford ; d. 8 December 1963.

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21. Daultana, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, Nawab, Khan Bahadur, b..........?; Land-lord and politician; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, from Mailsi (District Multan); General Secretary, Punjab National Unionist Party; faithful follower of Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan; inclined towards Muslim League after 1937; father of Mian Mumtaz Daultana, ex-Chief Minister, Punjab (1950-53), ex-Member National Assembly of Pakistan, now Pakistan Ambassador to U. K.; d. *circa* 1942.

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22. DeMontmorency, Sir Geoffrey, b. 23 August 1876; entered Indian Civil Service 1899; Assistant Colonisation Officer, Chenab Colony, 1903; Colonisation Officer, Jhelum Colony, 1905; Chenab Colony. 1906; Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, 1907; Settlement

Officer, Chenab, 1909; Junior Secretary to Financial Commissioner, 1911; Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1912-17; Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, 1917-20; Deputy Secretary, Government of India, 1920-1; Chief Secretary to Prince of Wales during his Indian tour, 1921-2; Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India, 1922-6; Member of the Punjab Executlve Council, 1926-8; Governor of the Punjab, 1928-33; Chairman, Price Regulation Committee, Eastern Region, 1939-46; d. 25 February 1955.

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23. Emerson, Sir Herbert William, b. 1 June 1888; entered Indian Civil Service, 1905; Assistant Commissioner and Settlement Officer Punjab, 1917; Deputy Commissioner, 1922; Secretary Finance Department, Punjab Government 1926; Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, 1927-30; Home Secretary to the Government of India, 1930-3; Governor of the Punjab, 1933-8; High Commissioner for Refugees, League of Nations, 1939-46; Director of Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, 1939-47; d. 12 April 1962.

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24. Fazl-i-Husain, Hon. Mian Sir, b. Peshawar City, 14 June 1877; K. C. I. E. 1929, K. C. S. I, 1932; son of Khan Sahib Mian Husain Bakhsh; educ. Municipal Board School, Abbottabad, High Schools at Peshawar and Gurdaspur, Government College, Lahore, and Christ's College, Cambridge; called to the Bar, Grays Inn, 1901; practised at Sialkot, 1901-5; practised at the Bar of the Punjab Chief Court, and the Punjab High Court, 1905-20; Fellow and Syndic of the Punjab University; Secretary of the Islamia College for nearly 14 years; President of the High Court Bar Association; President of the Special Punjab Provincial Conference concerning Reforms; Minister for Education, Punjab, 1921-3, and 1924-5; knighted in 1925; temporary Member for Revenue and Education of the Governor-General's Executive Council, August-November 1925; Minister for Education, Punjab, November-December 1925; Revenue Member, Punjab, 1926-7; Substitute Delegate for India to the Assembly of League of Nations, 1927; Revenue Member, Punjab, 1927-9; Officiating Member of Governor-General's Executive Council (Department

of Education, Health and Lands), 1929; Revenue Member, Punjab, 1929-30; Member of Governor-General's Executive Council (Department of Education, Health and Lands), 1933-5; Indian Delegation to the Indo-South African Conference, 1932; LL. D. Punjab University, 1933; D. Litt. Delhi University, 1935; Education Minister, Punjab, May-July 1936; Founder and leader of the Punjab National Unionist Party from 1923 until his death on 9 July 1936.

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25. Freeman-Thomas, Freeman, first Marquess of Willingdon, b. 12 September 1866; M. P. (Liberal) Hastings, 1900-6; Bodmin Div. of Cornwall, 1906-10; Jun. Lord of Treasury, 1905-12; Governor of Bombay, 1913-19; of Madras, 1919-24; Governor-General of Canada, 1926-31; Viceroy of India, 1931-6; d. 12 August 1941.

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26. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja, b. 1895; educ. Punjab University; Member Indian Legislature, 1923; Minister, Alwar State, 1927; Member Indian Council of States, 1933-37; Parliamentary Secretary, Government of Punjab, Revenue and Irrigation Departments, 1937-46; faithful follower of Jinnah and took active part in Muslim politics from 1923; Minister of Health, Food and Agriculture, *Interim* Government of India, 1946; Minister, Refugees and Rehabilitation, Pakistan, 1947; Pakistan Ambassador to Iran, 1948; Pakistan High Commissioner to India; d. 1963.

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27. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza, b. 1837, Gurdaspur; founder, *Ahmadiyyat*; Clerk, office of Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot, but resigned after some time; proclaimed himself to be the "promised Messiah", 1891; author of numerous books; declared himself to be a "prophet" and founded a new "religion", repudiating the Islamic belief in the Finality of Prophethood; Muslims consider his followers to be outside the pale of Islam; d. in Lahore, 26 May 1908.

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28. Ghuznavi, Sir Abul Halim Abdul Hossein Khan, b. 11 November 1876; Landlord and Merchant; educ. St. Xavier's College, Calcutta; Member, Indian Legislative Assembly; delegate to

the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1930-3; Member of the Consultative Committee in India, 1933; Member, Railway Standing Finance Committee; Advisory Committee of Railways ; Public Accounts Committee, 1933; Member of the Advisory Board to the Indian Delegation to the World Economic Conference, 1933; Member, Court, Universities of Dacca and Aligarh; Member, Governing Body, Islamia College, Calcutta ; President, Central National Mohamadan Association, Calcutta ; Member, Royal Asiatic Society ; Trustee, Indian Museum, Calcutta ; Chairman, Bengal Port Haj Committee; Member, Governing Body, I. M. M. T. S. "Dufferin" ; President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, 1939-40; Sheriff of Calcutta, 1934-5; Member, Export Advisory Council, Supply Advisory Council and Industrial Research Utilization Committee. (d. ?)

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29. Haig, Sir Henry Graham, b. 13 April 1881; educ. Winchester and New College, Oxford ; entered Indian Civil Service, 1905; Under-Secretary to Government, United Provinces, 1910-12; Indian Army Reserve of Officers, 1915-19; Deputy Secretary to Government of India, Finance Department, 1920, Secretary, Indian Fiscal Commission, 1921-2; attached to Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India, 1923-4; Private Secretary to Viceroy, 1925; Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, 1926-30; attended Indian Round Table Conference as adviser from Government of India, 1930-2; knighted in 1933; Home Member of Viceroy's Council, 1932-4; Governor of the United Provinces, 1934-9; Regional Commissioner for Civil Defence in the North West Region, U. K., 1940-1, in the Southern Region, 1942-5; d. 14 June 1956.

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30. Hailey, Sir Malcolm William, b. 15 February 1872; educ. Merchant Taylors' School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was elected an honorary Fellow in 1925; entered Indian Civil Service in 1905 and posted to the Punjab ; Colonization Officer of the Jhelum Canal, 1901; posted to Punjab Secretariat, 1907; Deputy

Secretary, Finance Department, Government of India, 1907-12; Chief Commissioner of Delhi, 1912-18; on deputation to Reforms Committee, 1918-19; Member of Viceroy's Council in Finance and later Home Department, 1919-24; Governor of the Punjab, 1924-8; Governor of the United Provinces, 1928-30 and 1931-4; attended Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1 and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933; retired from Indian Service in 1934; Director, African Research Survey, 1935-8; created Baron in 1936; headed an economic mission to Belgian Congo in 1940; d. 1 June 1969; Regarded as 'one of the most brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service of his day.' Obituary in *The Times*, 3 June 1969.

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31. Hallett, Sir Maurice Carnier, G. C. I. E., K. C. S. I., K. St. J., b. 28 October 1883; educ. Winchester College and New College, Oxford ; joined I. C. S., 1907; served in Bengal as Assistant Magistrate and Collector ; transferred to Bihar and Orissa, 1912; Under-Secretary to Government in the Political Department, 1913 and 1915; Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, 1920; Secretary to Government, Local Self-Government, 1922; officiating Commissioner Patna Division, 1925; officiating Chief Secretary to Government, April 1927 and June 1930; officiating Commissioner Bhagalpur , 1929; Secretary, Government of India, Home Department, 1932; Member, Council of State, 1936; Governor of Bihar, 1937-9; Governor of the United Provinces, 1939-45; d. 1 June 1969.

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32. Howell, Sir Evelyn Berkeley, b. in Calcutta on 12 February 1877; educ. Charterhouse and Emmanuel College, Cambridge; entered Indian Civil Service, 1900; posted to Punjab and then to Frontier on the formation of the North-West Frontier Province during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty; Political Assistant to Chief Commissioner North-West Frontier Province, 1904; Deputy Commissioner and District Judge, 1907; Deputy Commissioner, Kohat, 1910; accompanied the Indian Expeditionary Force to France as Censor of Indian Mail, 1914; H. M.'s Consul, Muscat, in the Persian Gulf, 1916; Deputy Civil

Commissioner, Basrah Wilayat, Mesopotamia, 1917-18; Military Governor, Baghdad, and Revenue Secretary Mesopotamia, 1918; Deputy Foreign Secretary, Indian Government, 1922; Officiating Foreign Secretary, 1923-4 and 1926-7; Resident in Waziristan, 1924-6; in Kashmir, 1927-9; Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, 1930-2; President of the Frontier Defence Committee under the Government of India, 1931; knighted in 1932; retired 1933. (Lived at 18 Manor Court, Pinehurst, Cambridge. Telephone : Cambridge 50702); died on 23 October 1971.

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33. Jinnah, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali, b. at Karachi on 25 December 1876; eldest son of a hide dealer in Karachi ; educ. Karachi, and Lincoln's Inn (1892-6); called to the Bar, 1896; enrolled himself at the Bombay High Court, 1899 where he soon became a leading barrister ; Joined Congress in 1905 and resigned from it in 1921 over the issue of non-co-operation; private secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji when the latter presided over the Congress session in 1906; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-19 when he resigned from it in protest against passing of the Rowlatt Acts ; joined Muslim League in 1913; its President, 1916, 1920, 1924-30 and from 1934 to his death ; G. K. Gokhle gave him the title of 'The Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu wrote his biography under that title in 1918; President, Bombay Provincial Conference, 1916, and later of the Bombay branch of Mrs. Annie Besant's Indian Home Rule League; as President of the Lucknow Muslim League session, 1916, had a large hand in planning the Lucknow Congress-League Pact; elected to the Legislative Council in 1923 where in 1926 led Independent Party which enabled him to hold, on occasions, the balance of power and dictate terms to Congress and government; Member, Reforms Inquiry (Muddiman) Committee, 1924; and of Skeen Committee (1926-7) which recommended setting up of an Indian Sandhurst, (he was a keen advocate of Indianization in the Army) ; associated himself with Congress policy of boycott of Simon Commission, 1927-28, but differed from it over the Nehru Report ; author of the 14 points of the Muslims, 1929; delegated to the first two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; Quaid-i-

Azam (great leader) of the Pakistan Movement, 1940-7; President, Pakistan Constitutent Assembly and Governor-General of Pakistan from 14 August 1947 to his death on 11 September 1948.

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34. Jogendra Singh, Sardar Sir, b. 25 May 1877; Taluqdar of Aira Estate ; editor, *East and West* ; Home Minister and later Prime Minister, Patiala State, 1910; elected to Council of State, 1921; Member, Indian Taxation Committee, Skeen Committee and Sugar Committee; Minister of Agriculture in the Punjab Government, 1926-37; knighted in 1929; Minister of Education, Health and Lands, Viceroy's Council, July 1942-July 1946; K. C. S. I. in 1946; d. 3 December 1946; Master Tara Singh described him as 'the veteran Akali leader, a gentleman possessing rare qualities of head and heart and the first Sikh Executive Councillor, I knew him since 1908 as a man of sterling worth.' *Civil and Military Gazette*, 4 December 1946.

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35. Kerr, Philip Henry, eleventh Marquess of Lothian, b. 1882; editor of the *Round Table*, 1910-16; Secretary to Prime Minister Lloyd George, 1916-21; succeeded to the title, 1930; Liberal party delegate to the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference (1930-2) and member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933-4; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1931; Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, 1941-2 (resigned from the Cabinet along with his other Liberal colleagues in September 1932 but continued to support the National government on the Indian question); Chairman, Indian Franchise Committee, 1932; cultivated relations with many important Indian leaders of different political parties and did much to persuade the Congress leaders to accept office in Provinces in 1937; British Ambassador to Washington from 1939 till his death in December 1940.

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36. Khuhro, Muhammad Ayub, b. 1901; Member Legislative Assembly, Bombay, 1924-37; Fellow, Bombay University, 1928-35; Member, Governor of Sind Advisory Council, 1936-37; Member, Sind Legislative Assembly, 1939-42; Minister, Sind Government, 1940-41,

1942-44, and 1946-47; Chief Minister, Sind, 1947, 1951, 1954; Defence Minister, Pakistan, 1955; President Sind Muslim League, 1948; Chairman, Larkana District School Board; President, Larkana Zamindara Co-operative Bank; leads a retired life in Larkana (Sind).

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37. Maharaj Singh, Kunwar Sir, b. 17 May 1878; educ. Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford ; Bar-at-Law, 1902; entered U. P. Civil Service, 1904; Assistant Secretary to Government of India, Department of Education, 1911; Controller of Hamirpur, U. P., 1917; Deputy Commissioner, Hardoi, 1918; Secretary to U. P. Government, 1919; Deputy Secretary, Government of India, Education Department, 1920-3; Deputy Commissioner, Bahraich, 1923; Commissioner Allahabad, 1927; Benares, 1928; Allahabad 1929; Chief Minister, Jodhpur, 1931; Agent-General to Government of India in South Africa, 1932; Member, Executive Council, U. P. Government, 1935; Member, U. P. Legislative Assembly, 1937; elected Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University in 1941; Governor of Bombay, 19—?

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38. Mahmud, Dr. Syed, b. 1889; educ. Aligarh, Cambridge and Germany ; General-Secretary, All India Congress Committee, 1923 and 1930-6; Member, Congress Working Committee ; Education and Development Minister in Bihar, 1937-9.

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39. Mehr, Ghulam Rasul, b. 1895; educ. Islamia College, Lahore; served Hyderabad State; worked with Zafar Ali Khan in *Zamindar*, but dissociated himself after a few year and brought out his own daily, *Inqilab*, in collaboration with Abdul Majid Salik; supported Punjab National Unionist Party; accompanied Allama Iqbal to Round Table Conference, London, 1931-32; author of many books; d. 16 November, 1971.

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40. Mieville, Sir Eric Charles, b. 31 January 1896; educ. St. Paul's School, London; served in the First World War; joined the

Far Eastern Consular Service, 1919; Local Vice-Consul, 1921; Private Secretary to successive British Ministers in Peking, 1920-7; Secretary to the Governor-General of Dominion of Canada, 1927-31; Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India, 1931-6; Secretary to the Executive Council of Governor-General of India, 1935-6; Private Secretary to the Duke of York, 1936; Assistant Private Secretary to the King, 1937-45; elected to various directorships, including the Westminster Bank, 1945; a senior member of staff of Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, March-August 1947; d. 16 September 1971. 'He was a man of many and lasting friendships, which included conspicuously those with the distinguished personalities whom he had served so well and always devotedly.' Obituary, *The Times*, 17 September 1971.

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41. Mitra, Sir Bhupendra Nath, b. October 1875; educ. Metropolitan Institution, Hare School and Presidency College, Calcutta; C. I. E., 1913; C. B. E., 1919; K. C. I. E., 1924; K. C. S. I., 1928; entered government service, 1896; Assistant Secretary to Government of India, Finance Department, 1910; Acting Deputy Secretary, 1915; Controller of War Accounts, 1915; Military Accountant-General, 1919; Financial Adviser, Military Finance, 1922; Member, Viceroy's Council, 1924-30; temporary Finance Member, 1925; High Commissioner for India in United Kingdom, 1931-6; Leader, Indian Delegation, International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1932; President, General Assembly International Institute of Agriculture, Rome 1932; representative of India on Imperial Economic Committee (Vice-Chairman since 1935), Imperial Shipping Company, Governing Body of Imperial Institute and Imperial College of Science and Technology, Imperial Communications Advisory Committee, Executive Council of Imperial Agriculture Bureau, and on Permanent Committee of International Institute of Agriculture, Rome; d. 25 February 1937.

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42. Mudaliar, Sir A. Ramaswami, b. 14 October 1887; educ. Madras Christian College and Law College, Madras ; hon. Doctor

of Civil Law, Oxford (1946) and Durham (1953); knighted in 1937; created K. C. S. I., 1942; Advocate Madras; Member, Legislative Council, Madras, 1920-6; Parliamentary Secretary to Education, Minister 1920-3; hon. editor, *Justice*, Madras, 1927-35; President, Madras Corporation, 1928-30; Member, Council of State, 1930; Member, Legislative Assembly, 1931-4; (Deputy Leader of Opposition); delegate to the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-2; Member, Indian Franchise (Lothian) Committee, 1932; Leader, Indian Delegation to British Commonwealth Relations Conference, Toronto, 1933; Member, India Council, 1936-7; Adviser, Secretary of State for India, 1937-9; Member, Viceroy's Council, 1939-46; a representative of India at War Cabinet and Pacific War Council in London, 1942-3; Leader; Indian Delegation, U. N. Conference, San Francisco, 1945 and first General Assembly, 1946; President, Economic and Social Council, U. N. 1946; re-elected, 1947; Dewan of Mysore 1946-9; Member, International Civil Service Board, 1949; Senior Vice-President of the Economic and Social Council, United Nations, 1950-1; address, 11/12, North Beach Road, Madras-1.

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43. Muhammad Iqbal, Sir, Dr., b. in Sialkot in 1877; educ. Scotch Mission College, Sialkot, Government College, Lahore, Trinity College, Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn, (Ph. D. Munich); lecturer of history, Oriental College, Lahore, and later of English and philosophy, Government College, Lahore, before proceeding to Britain for higher studies; Chief Professor of Arabic at London University for three months in 1908; barrister of the Lahore High Court, 1908-34; knighted in 1923; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1926-30; President, Muslim League, 1930; and of the Muslim Conference, 1932; delegate to the second and third sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1931-2; invited to be Rhodes Memorial Lecturer at Oxford, 1935, could not proceed due to ill-health; conferred a pension of Rs. 500 per month by the Nawab of Bhopal in 1935; d. 21 April 1938. Philosopher and poet who 'breathed new life into India and transfigured the East of song and legend', editorial comment in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 22 April 1938. 'One of the noblest sons of Islam, a great patriot and one of the greatest Indians', Jinnah on his death, *Ibid.* 23 April 1938.

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44. Muhammad Shafi, Khan Bahadur Mian Sir, b. in Lahore on 10 March 1869; educ. Government and Forman Christian College, Lahore and Middle Temple ; called to the bar, 1892; D. Litt. Alig., LL. D. Delhi; practised at Hoshiarpur, soon moved to Lahore as advocate, Lahore High Court; Member of the Indian Mahomedan deputation to Lord Minto, 1906; President, governing body of Islamia College, Lahore, 1907-19; Member, Punjab Legislative Council and of Imperial Legislative Council, 1909-19; President, All India Urdu Conference, 1911; refused High Court Judgships (Madras) 1912 and again (Lahore) 1918; President, Muslim League, 1913 and of its split session in Lahore, 1927; President, All India Mahomedan Educational Conference, 1916; President, Punjab High Court Bar Association, 1917-19; President, Punjab Provincial Bar Conference, 1919; knighted in 1922; Member, Viceroy's Council, 1919-24, (its Vice-President, 1923-4); Leader of the Council of State, 1922-4; Pro-Chancellor, Delhi University, 1922-5; delegate to the Imperial Conference (1930) and to the first two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; invited to hold the portfolio of Member for Education, Health and Lands in Viceroy's Council, temporarily vacant on Fazl-i-Husain's departure for South Africa for the Cape Town Conference, but before assuming charge died on 7 January 1932. Iqbal said his death was 'an irreparable loss to India and Islam' and described him as 'an acute lawyer and a politician of keen perception who shone alike at the bar and in political conferences'. Jinnah said he was 'a most liberal-minded patriot' who 'would have been of the greatest help to the Government and the people at the present critical juncture, India has lost a tremendous force for peace', *Civil & Military Gazette* 9 January 1932.

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45. Muhammad Yaqub, Moulvi Sir, b. in Muradabad, 27 August 1879; educ. M. A. O. College, Aligarh ; Pleader, Muradabad ; Member and first non-official Chairman, Muradabad Municipal Board ; Trustee, M. A. O. College, Aligarh; Member, Court Muslim University, Aligarh ; Presided over the U. P. Muslim League Session, 1926; the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, Calcutta, 1927; Member of the Age of Consent Committee, 1928-9; the All-India

Palestine Conference, Bombay, 1929; and the Bundehlkhand Muslim Political Conference at Banda, 1928; Member, Legislative Assembly, 1924-38; Deputy President, 1927-30; President, 1930; deputy leader of Jinnah's Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly; Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League, 1930-5; knighted in 1938; Member of the Indian Franchise Committee, 1932; Member of the Statutory Railway Board Committee in London, 1938; officiated as Commerce and Industries Member, Government of India, January-March and July 1938; Member of the Council of State from 1938 until his death on 23 November 1942.

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46. Muzaffar Khan, K. B. Nawab, b. 2 January 1880; educ. Mission High School, Jullundhur, and Government College, Lahore; joined Government service as Munsiff; promoted as Extra Assistant Commissioner; served as Mirmunshi to Sir Michael O'Dwyer during Great War; Oriental Secretary, Indo-Afghan, Peace Delegation, 1919; Sir Henry Dobbs Kabul Mission, 1923; Oriental Secretary, British Legation, Kabul in 1921 under Sir Francis Humphreys; joined Political Department, 1924; Director, Information Bureau, 1925; Reforms Commissioner, October, 1931; retired 2 January 1935; Revenue Member, Punjab Government, February 1935; Member, Legislative Council, 1937; Fellow, Punjab University, 1939; President, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore; K. B., 1917, Nawab, 1921, C. I. E., 1931.

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47. Nazimuddin, Khwaja, b. at Dacca, 19 July 1894, grandson of Nawab of Dacca; educ. Muslim University, Aligarh, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, (Hon. Fellow of Trinity, 1951); Chairman, Dacca Town Council, 1922-9; Education Minister, Bengal, 1929-37; Home Minister, 1937-41; Leader, Muslim League Opposition Party in Bengal Legislative Council, 1941-3; Chief Minister, Bengal, 1943-6; delegate to the final session of the League of Nations, Geneva, 1946; went to United States as member of the Indian Food Mission, 1946; made a C. I. E. (1926) and knighted in 1934, titles which he renounced in 1946 under the directive of the Muslim League; Chief Minister of East Pakistan, 14 August 1947-11 September 1948; Governor-General

of Pakistan, 11 September 1948-16 October 1951; Prime Minister of Pakistan, 16 October 1951-17 April 1953 when he was dismissed by Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad in the midst of anti-Ahmadiya disturbances in the Punjab; Leader of Councillors' Muslim League from 1962 to his death on 22 October 1964. Lacked 'strength and resolution', but was 'generous and hospitable and throughout had an unsullied reputation for integrity and a patriotism unmarred by self-seeking'. Obituary, *The Times*, 23 October 1964.

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48. Noon, Malik Firoz Khan, b. in Sargodha on 7 May 1893; educ. Aitchison College, Lahore, Wadhom College, Oxford, (M. A. Oxon., 1916, hon. Fellow of Wadhom), and Inner Temple; barrister, Lahore High Court, 1917-26; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1920-36; Minister, Punjab Government, 1927-30 and 1931-6; knighted in 1933, K. C. I. E. in 1937 and K. C. S. I. in 1941, titles which he renounced in 1946 under the directive of the Muslim League; High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, 1936-41; Member, Viceroy's Council, 1941-5; Indian representative in the British War Cabinet, 1944-5; published his diaries of Muslim massacre in Bihar in the *Daily Mail*, London, 1947; Jinnah's special representative in the Middle East, 1947; Member, Punjab Legislative Council and Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1947-50; Governor, East Pakistan, 1950-3; elected to the Punjab (Pakistan) legislature in 1953 and to the second Pakistan Constituent Assembly in June 1955; Chief Minister of the Punjab (Pakistan), 1953-5; Foreign Minister of Pakistan, 1956-7; leader of Republican Party, 1958; Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1957-8; d. 9 December 1970.

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49. Noyce, Sir Frank, b. 4 June 1878; entered Indian Civil Service 1902; served in Madras as Assistant Collector and Magistrate; Special Assistant Settlement Officer, 1906-8; Assistant Secretary to the Government of Madras, 1909; Under-Secretary, 1910; Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, 1912; Officiating Secretary, 1915-16; Secretary Indian Cotton Committee, July 1917; Controller of Cotton Cloth, September 1918; Vice-

President, and subsequently President, Indian Sugar Committee, 1919; Member Burma Land Revenue Committee, December 1920; Indian Trade Commissioner in London, 1922; Secretary, Law and Development Depaitments of the Madras Government, 1923; President, Indian Coal Committee, 1924; Commissioner of Labour, Madras, 1925; Secretary Local Self-Government Department of the Madras Government, 1926; President Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry), 1926; Attached Officer and Assistant Commissioner, Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, 1927; Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, 1929-32; Member of Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of Industries and Labour Department, 1932-7; Director Mysore Gold Mining Co. and of East Indian Railway Co.; d. 7 October 1948.

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50. Ranga, N. G., b. 7 November 1900; educ. Oxford; Member, All India Congress Committee, 1931-51; Congress Working Committee, 1947-51; resigned from Congress, April 1951; formed Bharat Krishik Lok Party, 1951; re-joined Congress, 1955; General-Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party, resigned on co-operative farming issue, 1959; became leader of Swatantra Party, June 1959, later its President for several years; elected to Lok Sabha, 1967; Address, Nidubrolu (Post), Andhra Pradesh.

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51. Salik, Abdul Majid, b. 1894; journalist aud poet; educ. Batala and Lahore; edited a number of journals; worked with the daily *Zamindar*; jailed during Disobedience Movement, 1921; brought out his own personal daily, *Inqilab*, 1927; supported the Punjab National Unionist Party; opponent of the Muslim League and Jinnah; author of many books; d. 1959.

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52. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs., b. Hyderabad, 1879 educ. Hyderabad, King's College, London, and Girton College, Cambridge, (Hon. D. Litt. Allahabad, 1938); married 1898, Dr. M. G. Naidu, Principal Medical Officer of His Highness the Nizam's service; spent a

year on the Continent; published three volumes of poetry in English; also been set to music; delivered lectures and addresses in all the chief cities of India on questions of social, religious and educational and national progress; decorated by King Edward VII with the Gold Kaiser-i-Hind medal for organising flood relief work in Hyderabad; specially connected with Women's Movement in India, and the welfare of Indian students; Member of the Bombay Municipality, 1923-9; one of the leaders of a recent political movements for the freedom of India; elected first Indian Woman President of the Indian National Congress 1925; delivered Convocation addresses at some of the leading Universities of India; travelled throughout East Africa and South Africa on a political mission on behalf of the Indian settlers in 1924; lecture tour in the United States and Canada, 1928-9; represented India at important international gatherings; Delegate, Indian Round Table Conference in London in 1931; Member of Government of India Deputation to South Africa 1932; Governor of the United Provinces from 1947 until her death on 2 March 1949.

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53. Sastri, Hon. V. S. Srinivasa, P. C. (1921), C. H. (1930), b. 22 September 1869; educ. The Native High School, and Government College, Kumbakonam; school-master and later headmaster; resigned in 1906, and joined the Servants of India Society, Poona, of which was President, 1915-27; Fellow of the Madras University, 1909; Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1913; Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1916-20; elected to the Council of State 1920; Member, Reforms Committee under Lord Southborough, 1919; Member, Railway Committee under Sir William Acworth, 1921-2; visited England in 1919 as member of the Moderate Deputation, and again in 1921 as the Indian representative to the Imperial Conference; represented India at the League of Nations Assembly, 1921, and at the Conference of the Limitation of Armaments, Washington; made P. C. 1921 and presented with the Freedom of London; was deputed in 1922 by the Government of India to Australia, New Zealand and Canada to urge on those Governments the removal of disabilities of Indians lawfully domiciled there; President of the National

Liberal Federation of India, 1922; visited England in 1923 as Chairman of a deputation appointed by the unofficial members of the Indian Legislature to represent the case of Kenya Indians; and again in 1924 on behalf of the National Convention and the National Liberal Federation of India to press for further constitutional reforms in India; Agent of India to South Africa, 1927-9; delegate to the first two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, 1935-40; d. 17 April 1946.

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54. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Sir, b. Muradabad, United Provinces, 1893; educ. Government High School, Muradabad, Trinity College, Dublin, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, University of London, (Litt. D. Dublin, 1918); married 1924, younger daughter of late Justice Shah Din; Assistant Professor of Indian Economics, University of Madras, 1919-20 and later Professor of Modern Indian History at Allahabad University; organised the publication of Allahabad University Studies in History; Member of the United Provinces Legislative Council from Muradabad since 1924; President of several Muhammadan Education Conferences; President, Conference of Muslim members of Local bodies and Legislative Council, 1928; Representative of U. P. Muslim Members of the Legislature in England, 1927; President, Bengal Muslim Conference, 1930; Delegate to the three Round Table Conferences in London, 1930-2; Delegate to Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, May-November 1933; Hon. Secretary to the Muslim Delegation to the Round Table Conferences, 1930-1; President of the Muslim Youth League, Calcutta, May 1931; Chairman All-India Muslim Conference, 1933-4; knighted in 1935; presided over All-India Modern History Congress, Poona, June 1935; Officiating Member, Federal Public Service Commission, Government of India, May-July 1940; Member G. I. P. Railway Committee appointed by Government of India, August-December 1940; High Commissioner for India in South Africa, 1941-4; non-Muslim League Member for Health, Education and Arts, Indian interim Government under

Jawaharlal Nehru's Vice-Presidentship, September-October 1946; d. July 1947.

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55. Shafee Dawoodi,

B. 1879; Vakil of the Patna High Court; Member of the Legislative Assembly, 1924; d.—

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56. Shahab-ud-Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Sir, b.—,educ. Government College and Law College, Lahore, (B. A., LL. B.); Advocate, High Court, Lahore; Member, Lahore Municipal Committee, 1913; President, 1922-4; President. Legislative Council, Punjab; Speaker Punjab Legislative Assembly; knighted in 1930; Minister of Education, Punjab Government, 1936-7; d.—

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57. Shaukat Ali, Maulana, b. in Rampur State on 10 March 1873; educ. M. A. O. College, Aligarh, where he was captain of the cricket eleven, graduated in 1894; secretary and organiser of the Aligarh Old Boys Association; joined government service in the United Provinces in 1896 as an officer in the superior grade in the Opium Department and served there for 17 years; secretary to His Highness the Aga Khan on his tour all over India to collect funds to raise Aligarh College to the status of a university, 1913-14; Trustee and President of the Aligarh College Board; started the Khuddam-i-Kaaba Society with its headquarters in Delhi in 1914; assisted his brother, Maulana Muhammad Ali, in the conduct of Urdu daily the *Hamdard*, established at Delhi in 1913, and also in bringing out the English weekly the *Comrade*; these were proscribed when in May 1915 he was interned along with his brother for anti-government propaganda under the Defence of India Act; President of the first Khilafat Conference while still in jail, 1919; after release, elected general secretary and chief executive officer of the Central Khilafat Committee, October 1919; joined Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, worked for the Congress and toured with Gandhi all over India, 1920-1; interned again along with his brother and released in 1923; President, Khilafat Conference, Cocanada, 1923; boycotted the Simon Commission (1927) along with Congress, but denounced it

(Congress) over the Nehru Report and joined the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi under the Aga Khan's chairmanship, 1928-9; accompanied his brother to the first session of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; and after the latter's death on 4 January 1931, succeeded him at its second session, 1931; helped in organising the World Muslim Conference in Jerusalem in 1932; toured Muslim countries and America in 1933 where he delivered lectures on India and Islam; later allied with Jinnah and the Muslim League cause; member Legislative Assembly from 1934 till his death on 27 November 1938. Jinnah described him as 'a great leader, who was true and loyal to his people'. Jawaharlal Nehru said, he 'was one of the bravest' among his 'brave old comrades' who 'became the emblem of a new spirit for freedom among the Muslims of India'. *Times of India*, 28 November 1938.

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58. Sikander Hyat Khan, Hon. Lt.-Col. Sardar Sir, b. 5 June 1892; son of late Nawab Muhammad Hyat Khan, C.S.I., K.I.H,, Khan Bahadur, of Wah, Attock District; educ. M. A. O. School, Aligarh and University College, London; Recruiting Officer European War, 1914-18; commission in 2-67th Punjab (later 1/2nd Punjabis); served in North-West Frontier and in Third Afghan War, 1919; appointed to Brigade Headquarters Staff; first Indian to command a Company on active service; Vice-Chairman, Attock District Board; First Class Honorary Magistrate, 1919-30; Member of the Punjab Legislative Council since 1921; non-official member of the Police Enquiry Committee, 1926; Personal Assistant to Mela Officer during Prince of Wales' visit; elected by Punjab Council to Provincial Simon Committee which elected him as its chairman; was connected with Boards of 11 Companies including Messrs Owen Roberts, the Punjab Portland Cement Co., Wah Stone and Lime Company, North Indian Constructional Engineers and the Frontier Mining Syndicate; temporary Revenue Member for three months, 1929; Revenue Member, Punjab Government, 1930-5 and 1936-7; acting Governor of the Punjab, 1932 and 1934; knighted in 1933; Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India, 1935-6; leader of the National Unionist Party

(1936-42) and Chief Minister, Punjab, from 1937 until his death on 26 December 1942.

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59. Srivastava, Sir Jawala Prasad, b. 16 August 1889; educ. Christ Church College, Cawnpore, Muir Central College, Allahabad, Municipal College of Technology, Manchester; served as Industrial Chemist to U. P. Government, 1912-29; then took to private business becoming Managing Director Cawnpore Dying and Cloth Printing Co. Ltd., Managing Director New Victoria Mills Co. Ltd., Cawnpore, and Managing Agent Indian Turpentine and Rosin Co. Ltd., Cawnpore; Director and Managing Director, Allahabad Bank Ltd. and Western India Match Co. Ltd.; Director and Managing Agent Raza Textiles Ltd., Rampur State, Imperial Bank of India; Director and Managing Agent, Gwalior Sugar and Agriculture Co. Ltd., Dabra; Bhopal Textiles Ltd., Bhopal; Sadul Textiles Ltd., Sriganganagar; was returned to the U. P. Legislative Assembly by the Upper Indian Chamber of Commerce Constituency, 1926, 1930 and 1937; Chairman of the U. P. Provincial Committee co-operating with the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission, 1928-9; Minister of Education and Industries, United Provinces Government, 1931-7; knighted in 1934; Finance Member, U. P. Government, April-July 1937; Civil Defence Member of Governor-General's Executive Council 1942-3; Deputy President, Post-War Reconstruction Committee of Council, 1942-3; Member, National Defence Council, 1942; Member in charge of Food, 1943-6; Member, Constituent Assembly of India, 1947-9; Member, First Indian Parliament, 1950-2; elected Member Council of States, Indian Parliament, 1952; Governing Director, Sir J. P. Srivastava Group of Industries controlling several large industrial units; d. 15 December 1954.

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60. Stanley, Lt.-Col. Sir George Frederick, b. 14 October 1872; 6th son of 16th Earl of Derby; educ. Wellingdon and Woolwich; entered R. H. A., 1893; Captain, 1900; Served in South Africa, 1899-1900; European War, 1914-18; Controller of H. M.'s Household, 1919; Financial Secretary to the War Office, 1921-2; M. P., 1910-22 and 1924-9; Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Home Office, 1922-3;

Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions, 1924-9; Governor of Madras, 1929-34; acting Viceroy, May-August 1934; d. 1 July 1938.

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61. Suhrawardy, Sir Abdulla al-Mamun, son of Hazrat Maulana Obeidulla-el-Obeidi Suhrawardy, b. 1881; educ. Dacca Madrasa, Dacca College, University College and King's College London, France, Germany, Austria, Constantinople and Cairo, (M.A. Ph. D.); Barrister-at-Law of Gray's Inn; Founder and Secretary, Pan-Islamic Society, London and London Mosque Movement, 1909; Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1910-26; Deputy President, 1923-6; Tagore Law Professor, 1911; Delhi Durbar Hall Medal, 1911; Member, Lord Southborough's Reforms Committee, 1919; Chairman, District Board, Midnapore, 1920-3; President, Khilafat Committee, Calcutta, 1924; Member, Indian Legislative Assembly representing Muslims of West Bengal since 1926; Vice-President, Mysore Family Association; Founder, Central Muslim Party in the Assembly; Founder and Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim Legislators' Association; Member, Indian Central Committee co-operating with the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission, 1928-9; knighted in 1931; d. 13 January 1935.

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62. Sultan Ahmad, Sir, b. 24 December 1880; called to the bar, 1905; hon. LL. D. Patna, 1931; Deputy Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, 1913; Government Advocate, 1916-37; acted as Judge, Patna High Court, 1919-20; Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, 1923-30; Member, Hartog Education Committee, 1928-9; delegate to the Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-1; acting Member of Executive Council of Governor of Bihar and Orissa, 1932; acting Member, Railways and Commerce, Viceroy's Council, 1937; Law Member, 1941-3; Member in Charge of Information and Broadcasting, 1943-6; d. February 1963

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63. Tiwana, Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan, b. 1874; educ. Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore; was given hon. Commission in 18th

K. G. O. Lancers; attended King Edward's Coronation Durbar at Delhi; served in Somaliland; joined Tibet Expedition; Imperial Attache to the late Ameer of Afghanistan; attended King George's Durbar at Delhi; saw active service in the World War in France and Mesopotamia; (mentioned in despatches); Mons. Sar, 1914; Member, Provincial Recruiting Board; represented Punjab, Delhi War Conference in 1918; served in the 3rd Kabul War (mentioned in despatches); made Colonel; Member, Esher Committee, 1920; had been President of the National Horse Breeding and Show Society of India; A. D. C. (Hon. for life) to H. M. the King-Emperor, 1930; attended service Jubilee Function in London, 1935; Member, Council of Secretary of State for India, 1929-34 and Deputy Herald; Landlord; d. 24 March 1935.

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64. Wood, Edward Frederic Lindley, b. 1881; President of the Board of Education, 1922-4 and 1932-5; Minister of Agriculture, 1924-5; created Baron Irwin, 1925; Viceroy of India, 1926-31 (the only Viceroy during this century who won confidence of all sections of Indian political leadership); Conservative party delegate to the third session of the Indian Round Table Conference (1932) and member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-4; succeeded father as Viscount Halifax, 1934; Secretary for War, 1935; Lord Privy Seal, 1936-7; Lord President of Council, 1937-8; Foreign Secretary, 1938-40; member of War Cabinet, 1939-45; Ambassador to United States, 1941-6; created Earl 1944; d. 1959.

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65. Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana, b. 1873; educ. Mission High School, Wazirabad, and M. A. O. College (later Muslim University), Aligarh; Private Secretary to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk; served in the Hyderabad State and rose to be Secretary, Home Department; edited and published daily *Zamindar*, Lahore, which played a major role in the independence movements; politician, poet, journalist, orator; Initially, active member, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, and took active

part in the Shahidganj affair; disenchanted, and joined Muslim League; d. 1956.

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66. Zafrulla Khan, Chaudhri Sir Muhammad, b. 6 February 1893; educ. Government College, Lahore, (B. A. Punjab), King's College and Lincoln's Inn, London, (LL. B. London and Barrister-at-Law); Advocate, Sialkot, Punjab, 1914-16; practised in Lahore High Court, 1916-35; editor "*Indian Cases*", 1916-32; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1926-35; delegate to three sessions of Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-2 and to Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933; President, All India Muslim League, 1931; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1932 and 1935-41; knighted in 1935; K. C. S. I. 1937; Leader Indian delegation to session of Assembly of League of Nations, December 1939; Agent-General to Government of India in China, 1942; Judge, Indian Federal Court, October 1941-June 1947; Constitutional Adviser to Nawab of Bhopal, June-December 1947; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Pakistan, 1947-54; Leader Pakistan delegation to Annual Sessions of General Assembly of U. N. 1947-54; to Security Council of U. N. on India-Pakistan dispute, 1948-51; Permanent Representative of Pakistan at U. N., 1961-4; President, U. N. General Assembly, 1962; Member, International Court of Justice, 1954-61 and since 1964; its President since 1970; Hon. LL. D. Cantab., Columbia, Denver, California; Hon. Fellow, King's College, London; Hon. Bencher, Lincoln's Inn; front rank leader of the Ahmadi community; leads a quiet and retired life in England.

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67. Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir, b. 1877; educ. Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, Trinity College, Cambridge, Al-Azhar, Paris and Bologna (Italy), B. A., 1903, M. A., 1908, Ph. D. Gottingen University, 1905, D. Sc. Allahabad University; Member, Sir Michael Sadler's Calcutta University Commission; Professor of Mathematics, M. A. O. College, Aligarh, 1907, Principal, 1918, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, 1920-8; elected Vice-Chancellor in April 1935 and continued till 1938; C. I. E.. 1915, knighted in

1938; represented Allahabad University in the U. P. Legislative Council; Member of Skeen and Shea Committees on Indianization of Army; Member, Railway Statutory Board Committee; d. in London, 23 December 1947.

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